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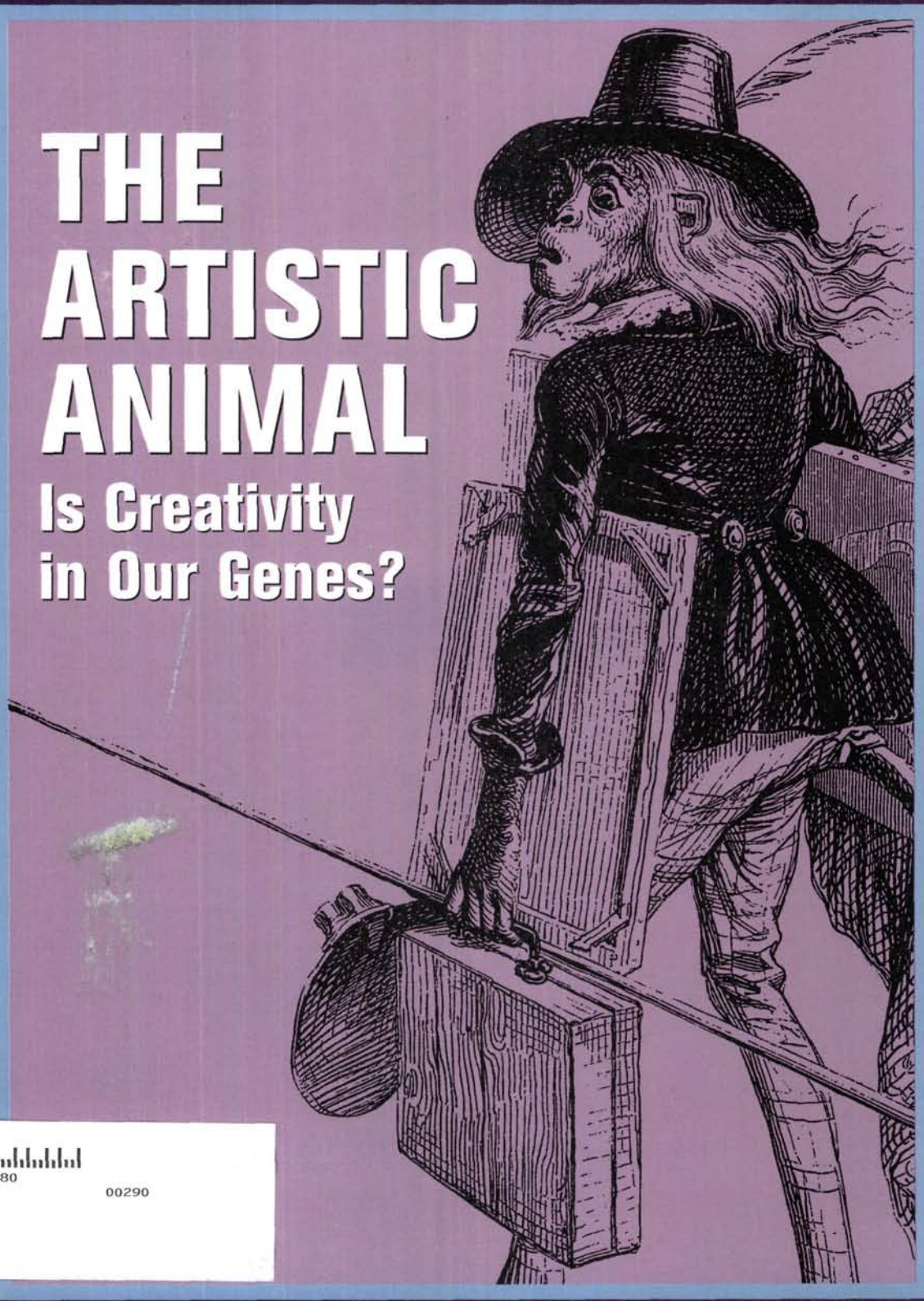

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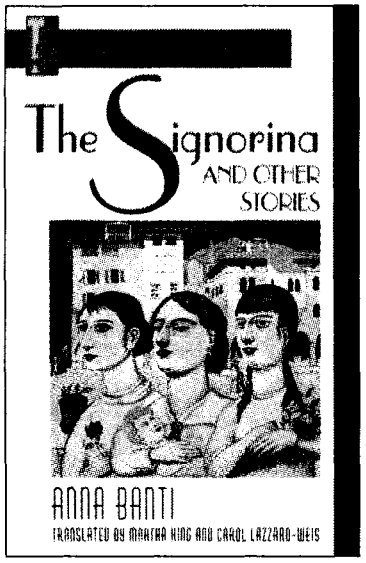

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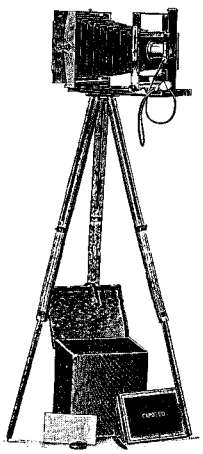

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Fig. *1819, "The Tragi-Comical History of the Lovers of Quimper-Corentin,"* Blackwood's Magazine.
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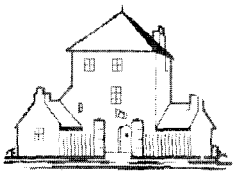

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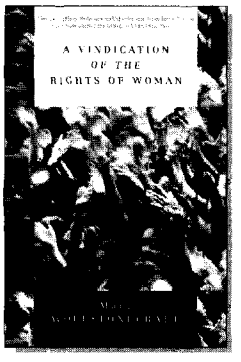

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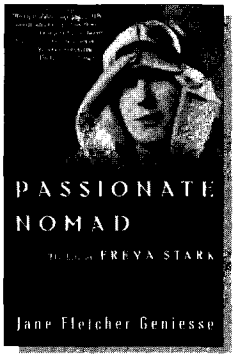

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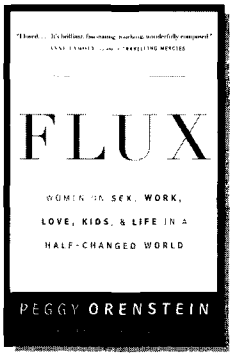

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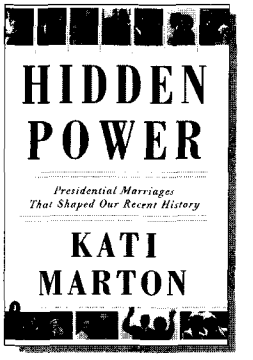

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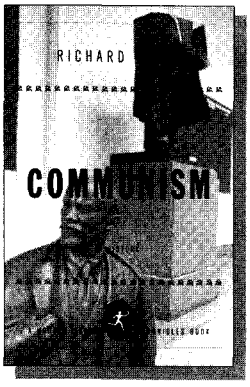

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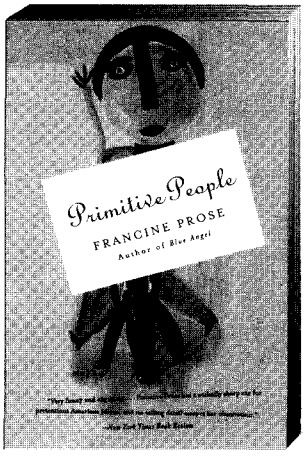

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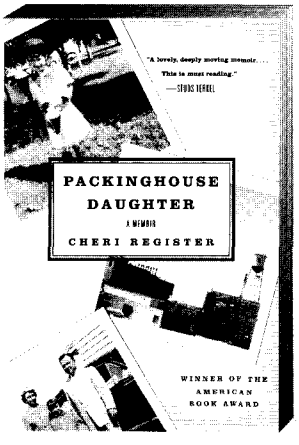

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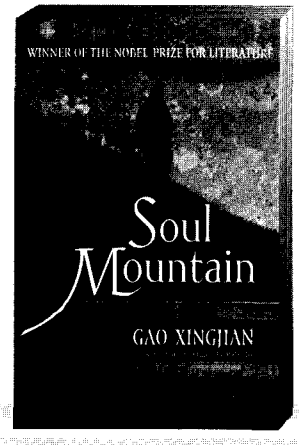

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MONEY FOR METAPHYSICS

What is most intriguing about the A.M. Monius affair ["The Mystery of the Millionaire Metaphysician," July/August]. is that a nonphilosopher wished to be acknowledged by the philosophical community and that this community failed to fulfill his wish. In this regard, James Ryerson might have made mention of the Theosophical Society, an organization that since 1872 has taught that people should consult their consciences, not authority, when distinguishing between truth and falsity. The society claims its heritage from the second-century Neoplatonist Theosophos Ammonius. It also once had among its membership the wizard of Oz, L. Frank Baum.

ASHLEY EVANS
Cambridge, Massachusetts

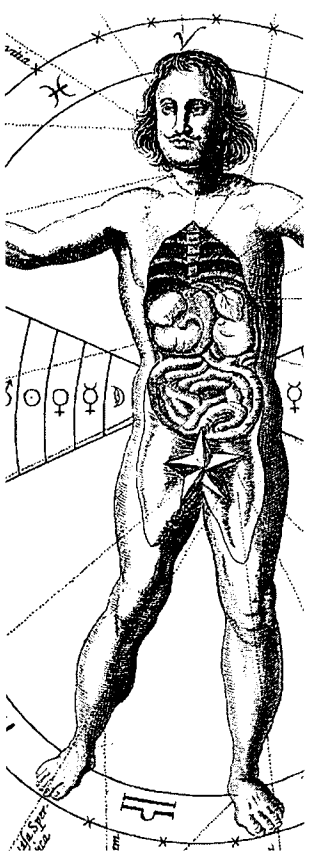
An absolutely riveting story, well told. Of course, Marc Sanders (a.k.a. A.M. Monius) is no Galileo, and his inability to find a way out of his log-jam these past twenty years may speak as much to his own defensive insularity as to that of the academics. But his plight is touching. It makes me wonder how many professors can beat "a common pattern of non sequiturs" out of a student without beating out the innovation as well.

DONNA BEECH
Santa Barbara, California

The practice of paying researchers to produce predetermined results tends to create bland art, bad science, and cultural deserts (witness the USSR circa 1930). Frederick II, although himself a composer and philosopher, enabled Bach and Voltaire to thrive. Sanders's desire to foster wisdom formation outside the formal academy is laudable. But rather than recruiting evangelists, perhaps he would do philosophy greater service by extending his grants to the contemporary Voltaires.

A. GAMAN
European Studies Department
Isaac Cohen Center for the Arts
Vancouver, British Columbia

It might be worth informing Sanders that there are universities at which nonstudents can submit a finished piece of work at the master's or the Ph.D. level. Since Sanders has obtained a number of reviews from competent philosophers, he could modify "Coming to Understanding" in light of their comments, then approach one of these universities with his manuscript in hand.



DAVID RYAN
Postdoctoral Fellow
Philosophy Department
Rhodes University
Grahamstown, South Africa

Ryerson asserts that the name "Nenetzin" means royal doll in Mayan. Actually, it is a Nahuatl (Aztec) word. It combines "nenetl"—which can, according to colonial dictionaries, mean female genitalia, doll, or idol—and the honorific/diminutive suffix "-tzin." The name thus can also be translated as "little female genitals."

ANDREA STONE
Professor of Art History
University of Wisconsin
Milwaukee

Editor's note: The A.M. Monius Institute has acknowledged Ryerson's article and provided some details about Sanders's background on its Web site. See www.ammonius.com/author.html.

CORRECTIONS

In "For God, Not Country" [September], a photo was miscaptioned; the photograph second from left on page 39 is of R.R. Reno, not Jeffrey Stout. In "The Final Word" [Field Notes, September], the birthplace of the late press baron Robert Maxwell was stated incorrectly; Maxwell was, in fact, born in Czechoslovakia.

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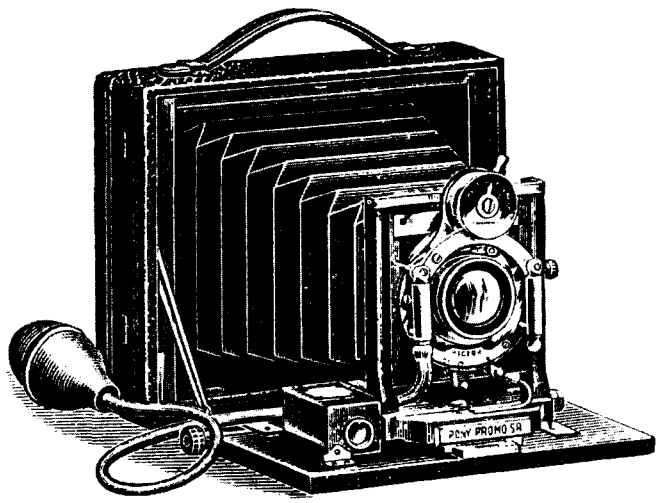

SEE NO EVIL

PHILIP JENKINS IS A DOGGED debunker of media-fueled frenzies. Americans should not lose sleep, he has argued, over pedophiles in the clergy, kids on ecstasy, or serial killers. Sex fiends don't lurk in every day-care center, he insisted in *Moral Panic: Changing Concepts of the Child Molester in Modern America* (Yale, 1998). But today Jenkins, a professor of history and religious studies at Penn State University, finds himself in an awkward position: He wants to alert the public to a peril he considers authentic.

It all started when he was researching on-line amateur smut for a follow-up book to *Moral Panic*. Every so often he would stumble onto a sexually explicit image of a child. Shocked, he deleted a couple of these images and reported them to Interpol and the FBI. "But this was happening so frequently that it just struck me that there was something there," he says. Upon further investigation, he discovered an entire hidden world on line—one that led him to rethink a few passages of *Moral Panic*, including his assumption, shared by most academics, that "child porn was never circulated domestically on any large scale after the 1970s."

In his new book, *Beyond Tolerance: Child Pornography on the Internet* (NYU), Jenkins describes how a furtive group of computer users around the world anonymously trade child pornography. These users disguise their identities and locations with "false flag" e-mail addresses, so that even if the records of a porn site's server are subpoenaed, the police will find only bogus IDs. Partly because credit-card transactions can also be traced, most users exchange child porn for free. Often, they create personal pages on services like Yahoo Groups, upload their collection, then announce the page's location on "pedo" (pedophile) bulletin boards. Yahoo Groups generally removes these sites in a matter of hours, but not before hundreds, perhaps thousands, have downloaded the material.

Finding the pedo boards wasn't easy, but Jenkins refuses to say where they are or how he located them. "If I say how I got from where I was to the boards," he explains, "then anyone else could do it. And I really don't want that." (He says, however, that he will provide the URLs to law-enforcement agencies that request them.) It's also illegal to possess child-porn images, and claiming "I was doing research" isn't an acceptable excuse. To stay within the law, Jenkins disabled his browser's "autoload images" feature. He couldn't see what was being traded, but the images were "described, analyzed, and criticized in considerable detail" on the pedo boards.

Not surprisingly, anonymity was the byword of Jenkins's project. The users of the boards didn't know Jenkins was observing them for an academic study, and Jenkins didn't know whom he was observing. "Not only do I not know the name of anyone out there," he says, "but I think I'm right in saying that there's no way I could possibly find out." And because any invitation to meet or correspond would be derided as an obvious setup

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("thanks ocifer, I'd love to go to the pedo picnic. FBI welcome!!" read one response to such a request), Jenkins worked only with material already posted on the boards.

Jenkins may be among the first outsiders to have witnessed on-line interaction among self-described pedophiles. In some ways, theirs was like any Internet community, with its newbies, revered regulars, and arcane tech discussions. As much as users exulted in finding directions to caches of child porn, they rejoiced in finding others like themselves. Questions like "When did you first realize you were a pedophile?" provoked endless responses, Jenkins reports.

On the bulletin boards, users candidly discussed adult-child sex, though their attitudes toward the subject varied considerably. If someone claimed that molestation was harmless or asked for advice on how to abuse a child, he might be met with "GET REAL! they're children" or "You are not a true loli [Lolita] lover but a violent sexual deviant who should not have the privilege of being with the good people of this board, or even on this earth around the beautiful loli." Many believed that the consumption of child porn actually prevented abuse by allowing people to "look but not touch." Others pointed out that this point could be refuted easily by outsiders: "For us to look, *someone* not only touched but took pix of it."

What his portrait of this community should suggest to legislators, says Jenkins, "is that a one-size-fits-all policy is not going to work, because you have such a huge diversity of people participating out there.... I think the worst policy response is to focus entirely on the demand side and to try to deter people, [saying] 'you looked at a child-porn picture, you get five years in prison.' That will be about as successful as the drug war."

Still, Jenkins believes that with time and international coordination, child porn can and should be largely suppressed. But it won't be simple: There is no standard definition of child porn, so more permissive countries balk at the demands of a restrictive country like the United States, where pictures of a fully clothed fifteen-year-old posing seductively, a portrait of a nude ten-year-old, and a photo of a toddler performing oral sex on an adult can all occupy the same illegal category. And today's policing strategies fall far short of the mark, says Jenkins: "You have all these local police agencies putting officers on line, sending out messages saying, 'Hi, I'm a thirteen-year-old girl, let me meet you at a motel across state lines.' Sure, that'll pick up some people, but it won't touch the problem I'm dealing with."

Jenkins would like to see the pedo boards shut down. But as a professed libertarian, he would not like to see increased surveillance of Internet users. Most pedophile communities are sophisticated enough to evade detection, he points out, so it's likely that the government would end up mainly cracking down on the wrong people: "I would hate to see a censored, cleaned-up Internet that was like that just because of a misguided attempt to destroy child porn."

ALLISON XANTHA MILLER

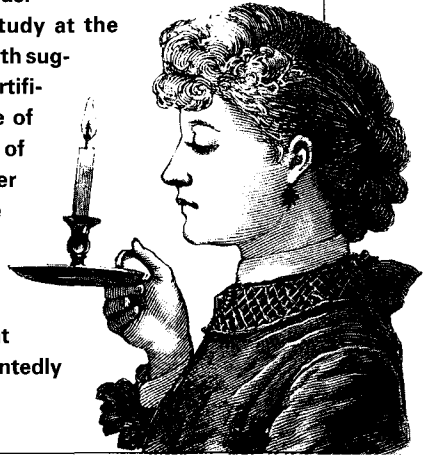
A critic of moral panics has a change of heart when he researches child porn.

AFTER NIGHT FALLS

IN A RECENT ARTICLE IN *THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, the Virginia Tech historian A. Roger Ekirch argues that sleeping the night away is a relatively new habit. He surmises that until the nineteenth century, "Western Europeans on most evenings experienced two major intervals of sleep bridged by up to an hour or more of quiet wakefulness."

Ekirch believes that rising in the middle of the night gave people a time for reflection, something that has generally been lost amid the hectic pace of life today. Waking from their "first sleep," people could take tobacco, visit friends, or ponder their dreams. In the 1760s, a London tradesman advertised a "Nocturnal Rembrancer," a writing tablet that would allow gentlemen to record "all those happy...flights or thoughts which so frequently occur in the midst of a meditating, wakeful night." The middle of the night was also a time for laborers, who were typically exhausted at the end of the day, to have sex. "[A]fter the first sleep...they have more enjoyment," explained the French physician Laurent Joubert. Less optimistically, the minister John Wade expressed concern that men "waking in the Night" were subject to "unsettled independent thoughts...vain unprofitable Musing...[and] devising Mischief upon their Beds."

Ekirch also cites a recent study at the National Institute of Mental Health suggesting that in the absence of artificial light, humans adopt a style of segmented sleep not unlike that of many animals. Interestingly, after waking up in the middle of the night, the subjects in the experiment produced unusually high levels of prolactin—the same pituitary hormone that hens produce while sitting contentedly on their eggs. *—Chad Kenward*



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MONTEVERDE CLOUD FOREST, COSTA RICA

GREENHOUSE DEFECT

TOURISM IS ON THE LOOSE. From the rain forests of Costa Rica to the beaches of Thailand, huge resorts have paved over paradise, dumped sewage into rivers and oceans, and funneled enormous profits back to hotel chains and their investors, to the neglect of native workers and businesses.

Enter ecotourism, a kinder, gentler, and rapidly growing form of tourism designed to protect the environment and enrich the locals while giving tourists a more authentic experience of nature and local culture. The upscale Kapawi Lodge in Ecuador's Amazon basin, for example, is a joint venture between an Ecuadoran tour operator and an indigenous organization representing the Achuar people. The lodge employs mostly locals, educates tourists about native culture and conservation issues, and earns two thousand dollars per month in rent for the Achuar. In a show of support for such enterprises, the United Nations General Assembly has designated 2002 as the "International Year of Ecotourism."

Given its commendable goals, ecotourism might seem an unlikely subject of controversy. An increasingly vocal band of critics, however, claims that the green on many ecotourist destinations has faded. Spearheaded by the Bangkok-based Tourism Investigation and Monitoring Team, a worldwide coalition of academics, development experts, and indigenous rights organizations has recently taken issue with the UN's International Year of Ecotourism. These critics want the name of the year changed to the deliberately ponderous "International Year of *Reviewing* Ecotourism." By their lights, ecotourism is a veritable Trojan horse of globalization, a misguided development project foisted on unwilling—and unsuspecting—Third World communities.

"Resist anyone bearing gifts of ecotourism," warns the University of Vermont anthropologist Luis Vivanco, who is helping to organize a conference called "The International Forum on Indigenous Tourism," timed to coincide with the International Year of Ecotourism. "No, liberate yourself from it, because most likely it's a government, international nongovernmental organization, or multinational corporation that is going to promise you false benefits." The University of Plymouth geographer Martin Mowforth, co-author of *Tourism and Sustainability: New Tourism in the Third World* (Routledge, 1998), shares Vivanco's suspicion. "Invariably," he says, "ecotourism takes on the exploitative and destructive characteristics of mass tourism. We need to reassess whether it's even, on average, for the good."

What, exactly, is the problem with ecotourism? Since the term was first coined in the 1980s, claim critics, ecotourism has rarely lived up to its ideals. In Belize, a premier nature-travel destination, expatriates, not locals, control much of the country's ecotourism businesses. In *Tourism and Sustainability,* Mowforth describes an ecotourist guest house in southern Belize funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development; the house competed directly with an older network of guest houses constructed by an indigenous organization. Costa Rica, which was once a model of small-scale, environmentally sound travel, now invests heavily in "greenwashed" tourism projects—projects that are ecotourist in marketing scheme alone. The auspiciously named Papagayo Ecodevelopment, on Costa Rica's Pacific coast, turns out to be a group of resorts that includes thousands of hotel rooms, a shopping center, and a golf course.

Even when ecotourist destinations are not run by outsiders, they can adversely affect local communities. David Barkin, an economist at the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana in Mexico City, argues that ecotourism offers limited benefits to the majority of locals because it is typically conducted on such a small scale and thus encourages control by local elites. As Barkin observes in "The Economic Impacts of Ecotourism," a 1999 essay about the Monarch Butterfly Reserve in Mexico, impoverished peasants continue to violate the reserve's logging ban in order to earn extra money, despite local awareness

CORBIS

THE ETHICIST OF ICE CREAM

"A MAN EATING AS HE WALKS DOWN THE STREET EATS IN THE face of all passersby, who must then either avert their gaze or observe him objectifiedly in the act. Worst of all from this point of view are those more uncivilized forms of eating, like licking an ice-cream cone—a catlike activity that has been made acceptable in informal America but that still offends those who know why eating in public is offensive.... This doglike feeding, if one must engage in it, ought to be kept from public view, where, even if *we* feel no shame, others are compelled to witness our shameful behavior."

—Bush bioethics adviser Leon Kass, in his book *The Hungry Soul* (1984), pp. 148–49, partially quoted in *The Wall Street Journal,* August 17, 2001

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of the benefits butterfly tourism can bring. Rather than corralling small patches of nature for display, Barkin argues, ecotourist projects should develop a vast regional system of local forest management, sustainable agriculture, and indigenous cultivation of wild forest products.

For critics, though, the gap between ecotourism theory and practice is only part of the problem. They point also to the internal contradictions on which ecotourism is founded. "The fundamental paradox of ecotourism and adventure travel is the more you look for the genuine real thing, the more spoiled it becomes because the more people want to see it," says Vivanco. He notes that the Monteverde Cloud Forest Region in Costa Rica, a renowned ecotourist destination, now attracts more than sixty thousand visitors annually—an onslaught that has led wildlife managers to restrict the number of people allowed in at any one time.

> Is ecotourism any better than the allegedly destructive mass tourism it is meant to replace?

Like many critics, Vivanco claims that ecotourism trades on Western notions of an "unpeopled wilderness"—a conception of nature that is radically different from the more holistic view held by indigenous peoples. As he explains, the Monteverde Cloud Forest managers "frame nature" to fulfill tourist expectations, feeding wild animals, building trails that lead to spectacular vistas, and planting nonnative plant species to attract exotic birds. "The desire for pure wilderness and unpeopled landscapes," he has written, "is based on a view of nature that masks long-term local human interactions with it, and confirms that local peoples exist awkwardly, if not illegitimately, on its boundaries."

Ecotourism supporters are not swayed by these arguments. "Critics are tarring all ecotourism projects with the same brush," says Andy Drumm, ecotourism director for the Nature Conservancy's International Conservation Program. Drumm lists several projects he considers successful, including an operation in southern Belize that moved local fishermen out of the destructive gill-net-fishing industry into tourist-oriented catch-and-release fly-fishing outfits. "They're making four times as much in a year as they were before," he says. "Monitoring is now the key issue."

In addition, argues Ralf Buckley, a professor of ecotourism at Griffith University in Australia, ecotourism can attach vital economic value to land and wildlife preservation. "In countries without effective environmental legislation—a lot of the world—the overriding issue is damage to the natural and cultural environments from logging, agriculture, wildlife poaching," he says. "If tourism can help to protect relatively undisturbed areas from those higher-impact uses, then it can contribute to conservation even though it has some negative impact itself."

Oliver Hillel, tourism coordinator for the UN Environment Programme, concedes that indigenous organizations have been largely excluded from the planning process for the International Year of Ecotourism. But he claims that their integration is a long-term goal that has to be pursued realistically. "Few countries and institutions are open to participation with indigenous communities," he says. "But we are aware of that need, that concern."

For critics, though, the exclusion of indigenous organizations can't be so casually explained away. This sort of neglect, they feel, is tantamount to "ecocolonialism." "It's the righteousness of it all," Vivanco complains. "American, European ecotourists flying thousands of miles using nonrenewable resources to educate the natives about saving the rain forest. We're saying: Where's the self-reflection?"

LINDA BAKER

THE DECISION

In his new book *A Trial by Jury* (Knopf), D. Graham Burnett relates his experiences as the foreman of a jury in a murder trial. In passages such as the following, Burnett meditates on what it is like for a historian of science to participate in a real-world experiment that challenges his most cherished habits and beliefs:

The hung jury had been my first choice from the start.

Was there a logic to this odd stance? Perhaps.

I realize now that for me—a humanist, an academic, a poetaster—the primary aim of sustained thinking and talking had always been, in a way, *more thinking and talking*. Cycles of reading, interpreting, and discussing were always exactly that: cycles. One never "solved" a poem, one read it, and then read it again—each reading emerging from earlier efforts and preparing the mind for future readings. The same went for understanding the past, for teaching history. Whereas scientists and mathematicians might get kudos for *answering* questions, for *resolving* problems, I had always felt that my work involved the exact opposite project: keeping the questions open. They were different sorts of questions, of course. For me, being a humanist meant committing my life to a somewhat absurd task: serving full-time as the custodian of unanswerable questions (how to live? what to do? how to know? why?); caring for them; nudging them to the fore in a crowded world; resurrecting others, now forgotten; keeping track of long-lost answers. Such questions cannot be answered, but they are not stupid.

But this, for all its beauty (and it is, I believe, beautiful, if also, yes, a bit mad), makes exceedingly lousy training for the grim duty of actually answering—closing definitively—an immensely complicated question with swift, withering, and barbed implications: a question like, "Is Monte Milcray guilty of murder?"

Facing that question, I had immediately embarked on doing what I knew best: keeping the question open. This, I think, is what the hung jury meant to me. By handing the question back to the court—by saying, in essence, "Thank you, very interesting, now go ahead and do all of this again with another class"—I would feel our deliberations had remained an exercise of thought, a splendid instance of thinking for the purpose of thinking. A hung jury would turn our jury duty into a symposium, an intensive discussion group, an interpretive seminar.

Moreover, it would transform the actual trial of the veritable Monte Virginia Milcray—a thing with serious tooth in several people's lives—into nothing but a bunch of words. It would transform the potent proceedings into a long, difficult, dense, and deeply moving *text*—a poem of sorts.

It could mean something different to everyone. Like art.

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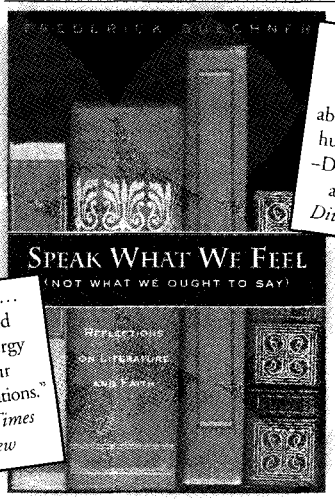

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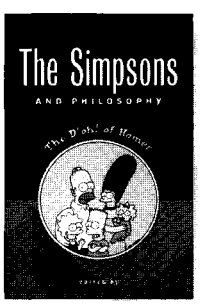

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PLAYING GOD

A GIANT TIGER WAVES AN upturned middle finger at an equally huge hyena, then points to a grassy clearing. The two enormous animals lumber over to the spot, and in a whirl of claws they tear into each other with such earth-shaking vigor that the inhabitants of a nearby village scurry in panicked circles, their huts collapsing around them. Eventually the tiger gains the advantage; at his moment of triumph, he squats over the defeated hyena and humiliates him with a barrage of farting.

This is just one example of the mayhem to be found in Black & White, a computer game that has been a top seller since its March release; nearly 300,000 copies have been sold to date. Although the description above may make Black & White sound like a conventional arcade trifle, beneath the antics of these furry titans lies a complex weave of philosophical ideas.

Though it certainly isn't the first computer game invested with the trappings of the intellectual world—last year's award-winning Deus Ex, for example, includes dialogue seemingly inspired by *The Federalist Papers* and Noam Chomsky—Black & White claims a markedly philosophical pedigree. Produced under the leadership of the acclaimed British game designer Peter Molyneux and the artificial-intelligence programmer Richard Evans, who has an undergraduate degree in philosophy from Cambridge University, Black & White is the apotheosis of the so-called god game, a strategy subgenre invented by Molyneux in the late 1980s.

When you play Black & White, you are, quite literally, a god, with near-omnipotent control over an assortment of aboriginal villages on a verdant island. You must provide the villagers with food, shelter, and other basic necessities. The ultimate object of the game is to earn "belief points," which measure the number of villagers who have faith in your power. (The theology of Black & White is decidedly Nietzschean: If those belief points hit zero, your god is as good as dead.) Whether you secure the villagers' faith through beneficent intercession or acts of holy terror, you must live with the consequences. Being a good god is difficult and requires patience; being evil is much easier but has its pitfalls—blaze a few too many lightning bolts and you run the risk of crisping your faithful (and yourself) into extinction. Meanwhile, the game itself graphically adjusts the appearance of your world to mirror the character of your play. Be a generous god and your land will flourish, growing even more lush; be a sadistic god and your kingdom will darken, as if shriveling under your cruelty.

The player's physical emissary on earth is the Creature, a gigantic, intelligent tiger, ape, cow, or other beast; you train your Creature through the use of a large disembodied hand. Moving the hand over his fur makes him purr, for example, and jerking the hand across his body delivers a stinging slap. Through rewards and punishments such as these, your Creature gradually learns to act without your help. If you've trained him to be virtuous, he'll assist the villagers by, say, helping to gather wood. But if

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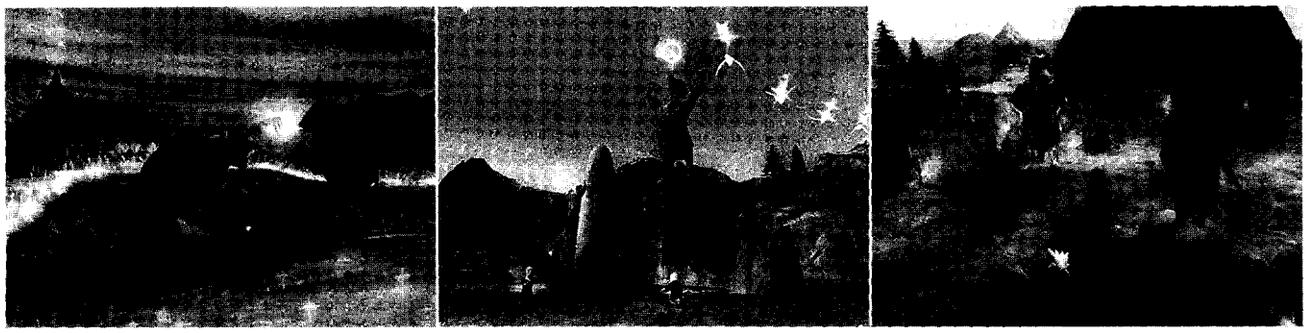

you've trained him to be more like a vicious pit bull, he's likely to wade in and eat one of the villagers for lunch.

To create the game's underlying AI, Evans and Molyneux synthesized two moral systems familiar to students of ethics: deontology, wherein actions are good or evil in themselves, and utilitarianism, wherein actions are good or evil depending on how they affect the larger community. "We chose these theories because between them they are capable of capturing a lot of our ethical intuitions and because they have the extra advantage of being efficiently implementable," says Evans via e-mail. To incorporate these moral systems into the game, he created a system of ethical cross-reference—in effect, a moral spreadsheet for godly behavior. "When judging whether the player is good or evil, we mostly use straightforward deontological evaluation: Look at the type of action the player is currently performing, and look at the type of object he is performing it on," says Evans, who graduated from Cambridge in 1992 and went on to study AI at the University of Edinburgh. "But to capture the utilitarian insight that inaction can itself be an evil, we added an evaluation of the situation: whether the villagers were satisfied."

In a world so varied and detailed, it isn't immediately obvious what constitutes good and what constitutes evil. "It is tempting to think that killing anything is evil," says Molyneux. "But in fact, if you kill a wolf that is preying on villagers, that would be regarded as a good act, and healing the same wolf would be an act of evil." And the villagers themselves can be very lazy, often letting their god do things that they're entirely capable of doing themselves. Are the game designers implying that godly strength depends on human weakness and vice versa? Yes, says Evans: "Peter wanted the villagers to be increasingly reliant...so that you are drawn into a spiral of dependency. He was trying to make a point about human nature."

A best-selling computer game puts Nietzschean ideas into practice.

The game's complexity has attracted the attention of academics within the small but growing interdisciplinary niche of computer-game studies. Kurt Squire, a Ph.D. candidate in instructional systems technology at Indiana University, says he is intrigued by "the implicit pedagogical and epistemological models in the game, especially as they relate to the Creature." Other academics have been less impressed. Though he says it is "a wonderful attempt at expanding the culture of digital gaming," the New York University adjunct professor Eric Zimmerman, who has lectured on game design at NYU, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the Parsons School of Design, says he found the philosophical elements of Black & White to be "relatively reductive, since the game presents a linear model of ethics, a two-pole schema where the player can tend toward good and evil."

Some of the moral quandaries in Black & White have provoked a stir among its fans. At one point, many players were annoyed that teaching a Creature to fish turned him evil. This led to the sort of controversy associated not with Peter Molyneux but with Peter Singer. The veganism in Black & White, Evans admits, "attracted some complaints. Our idea was that every act of resource consumption is a little bit evil." Fortunately, silencing these critics didn't require a drawn-out colloquy among ethicists—just a quick tinkering of the moral spreadsheet. Thanks to a software patch that was put on line in July, eating fish is no longer considered evil.

WAGNER JAMES AU

VIDEO KILLED THE ACADEMIC STAR

THIS SUMMER, MICHAEL HARDT, A DUKE LITERATURE professor and co-author of *Empire* (Harvard), shot to the top of the intellectual pop charts when an article in *The New York Times* touted him as a likely "contender for academia's next master theorist" and the originator—with his more esteemed colleague Antonio Negri—of "the Next Big Idea." But judging from Hardt's somewhat mystifying appearance on PBS's *The Charlie Rose Show* in July, his transition from academic star to TV pundit is not going to be easy.

In a series of less than pellucid exchanges with Rose, Hardt discussed topics ranging from the "common constitution" of global power to "a communist tradition that runs from Francis of Assisi to Charlie Chaplin to Baruch Spinoza." *Rose*: "But—but—but—what do you mean by—I'm asking—searching for definitions and understanding and reference points. 'Common constitution' as in what?" *Hardt*: "Well, meaning just that a common functioning of power, not a constitution in a written sense but a constitution in the sense of a logic of power that, in a way, runs through the various organisms..." *Rose*: "Okay. Now, let me approach this from what I think might be some of the questions coming from someone listening to you."

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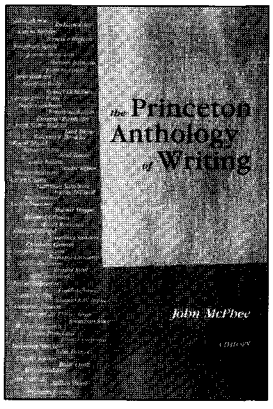
New from Princeton



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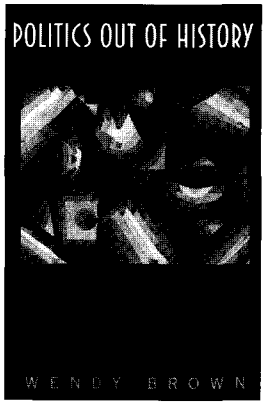

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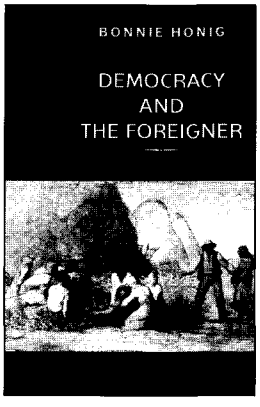

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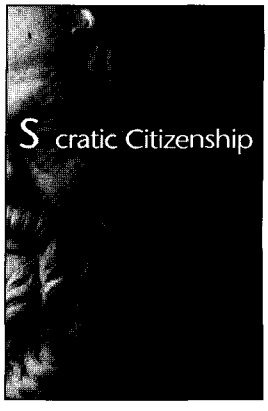

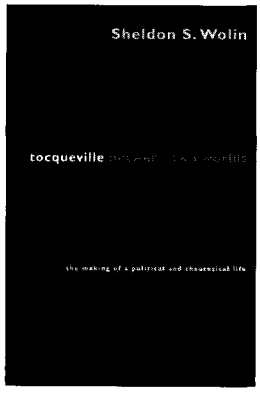

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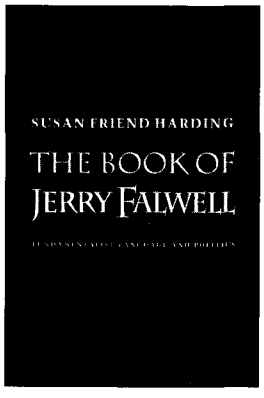

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Breakthrough Books

THE GENE

WE ASKED FIVE EXPERTS TO RECOMMEND THE BEST RECENT BOOKS ABOUT THE GENE.

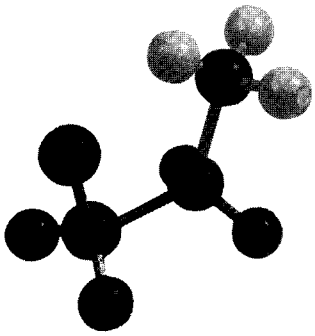
Lori B. Andrews, professor of law at Chicago-Kent College of Law and author of *Future Perfect: Confronting Decisions About Genetics* (Columbia, 2001).

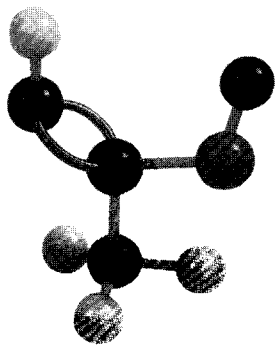
"In 1990, the United States Congress launched a multibillion-dollar scientific endeavor to sequence the human genome. Labeled biology's 'moon shot' by proponents and 'the Manhattan Project of science' by detractors, the Human Genome Project has spawned not just a scientific frenzy but also a library's worth of books. In ***Transducing the Genome: Information, Anarchy, and Revolution in the Biomedical Sciences*** (McGraw-Hill, 2001), **Gary Zweiger,** a geneticist at a leading biotech company, provides one of the best scientific explanations of gene hunting. He also gives the reader a behind-the-scenes look at the intensely commercial motives of government researchers and university microbiologists. While Zweiger supports the idea of patenting genes, he acknowledges that such patents may hamper scientific progress.

"In ***Owning the Future*** (Houghton Mifflin, 1999), **Seth Shulman** raises many concerns about gene patents, as well as about similar patents in the software field. The U.S. Patent and Trademark Office, Shulman demonstrates, has moved from patenting inventions to patenting basic ideas and information. While patents have turned many scientists into millionaires, the patenting process may impoverish the rest of us, because the unimpeded circulation of scientific information is crucial both in academia and in health care."

Kevin Davies, editor in chief of Cell Press and author of *Cracking the Genome: Inside the Race to Unlock Human DNA* (Free Press, 2001).

"Like Dava Sobel's *Longitude*, **Matt Ridley's *Genome: The Autobiography of a Species in 23 Chapters*** (HarperCollins, 2000) is a rarity: a science book that appeals as much to nonscientists as to scientists, if not more so. In each chapter, Ridley plucks a single gene from one of the twenty-three human chromosomes and uses it to illustrate how genes influence life and behavior. With wry humor, he shares a wealth of fascinating material about the origins of species, the battle between the sexes, the genetics of intelligence, and environmental influences on personality. Though the book's subtitle bills it as an autobiography, it is essentially a selection of delightful short stories. Ridley does not attempt to discuss the politics of the Human Genome Project. But no book tells a more absorbing story about the race for mankind's genetic blueprint."





Peter Godfrey-Smith, associate professor of philosophy at Stanford University and author of *Complexity and the Function of Mind in Nature* (Cambridge, 1996).

"***Why Men Won't Ask for Directions*** (Princeton, forthcoming), by **Richard Francis,** is written for nonspecialists, but it challenges some of the most influential current ideas about the role of genes in explaining behavior. Francis goes far beyond typical criticisms of 'genetic determinism.' Recently, biologists have taken to using the concept of information to describe the role played by genes in biological development and evolution. Scientists often describe genes in language borrowed from computer science and linguistics—genes are seen as containing a 'program' and carrying 'meaning.' Many observers have applauded the

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use of these metaphors, but for Francis such concepts threaten to take biology away from materialist patterns of explanation, which focus on the ordinary causal powers of biological molecules. The material gene, Francis writes, is being replaced by immaterial 'genies.' I don't agree with Francis's analysis, but his argument is fascinating—and so is his whole book. *Why Men Won't Ask for Directions* is written with dry humor, and it contains lots of interesting anecdotes from the fields of biology and the history of science."

Alan Packer, assistant editor of ***Nature Genetics.***

"In ***The Art of Genes: How Organisms Make Themselves*** (Oxford, 1999), **Enrico Coen** delivers a brilliant metaphor that illuminates the state of developmental biology. An embryo, Coen writes, is like a painting: Each step in its creation is influenced by the previous step, as well as by the whole environment. Just as there are no rules for painting a picture, other than in the crudest sense, so there is no explicit plan for embryonic development. To be more precise, the plan is inseparable from its execution. It is thus deeply misleading to speak of a 'genetic blueprint' for a human being. Coen grounds these metaphors in the gritty details of developmental genetics, elegantly summarizing how genes are turned on and off as embryos grow and take shape. His style is both accessible to the general reader and clever enough to attract his fellow geneticists."

Nathaniel C. Comfort, professor of history at George Washington University and author of *The Tangled Field: Barbara McClintock's Search for the Patterns of Genetic Control* (Harvard, 2001).

"An important recent change in gene thinking is the shift in focus from genes to entire genomes. Genes are not particles, switches, or lines of computer code; they are dynamic, highly interactive systems. **Richard C. Lewontin's *The Triple Helix: Gene, Organism, and Environment*** (Harvard, 2000) is a slim tour de force of the new genomic thinking. In an evenhanded set of essays, Lewontin extends this dynamic view of heredity to the interactions of genes, biology, and environment. In ***Genetic Medicine: A Logic of Disease*** (Johns Hopkins, 1999), the distinguished pediatrician **Barton Childs** applies these dynamic principles to medicine. As the English physician Sir Archibald Garrod recognized a century ago, each of us (except for identical twins) houses a unique genetic constellation. Our particular genomes affect our susceptibility to disease and injury and our responsiveness to therapeutic treatment. Childs presents a vision of an individualized medicine in which physicians would use genomic profiles to tailor drug therapies to different patients. The concept of a genomic medicine echoes nicely the Hippocratic notion that disease and health result from unique confluences of heredity, physiology, and environment."

JOHN PALATTELLA

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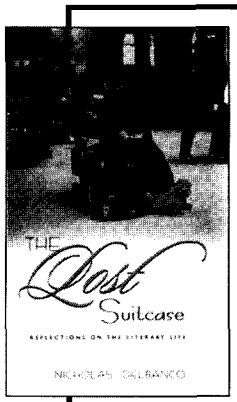

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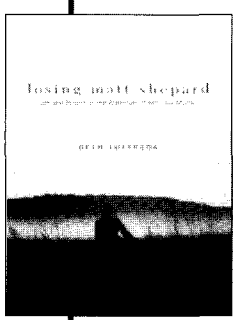

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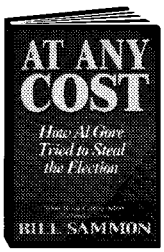

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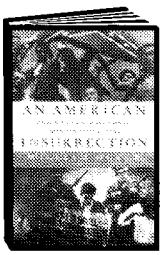

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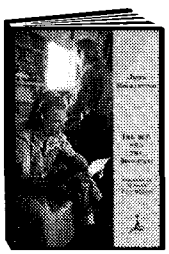

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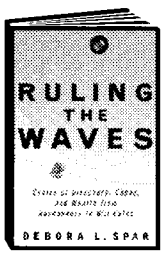

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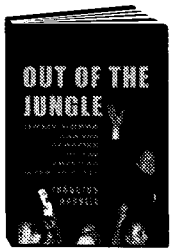

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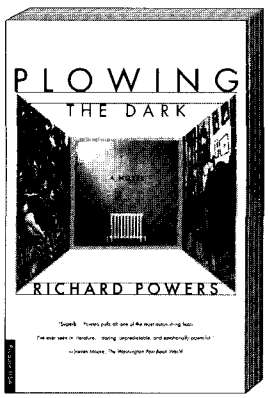

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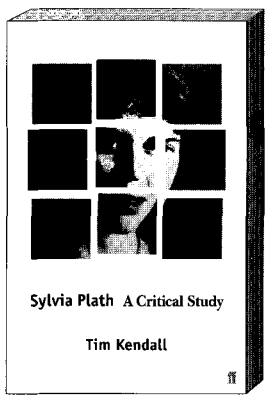

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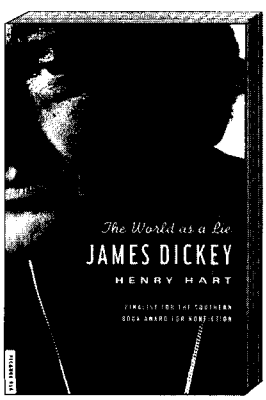

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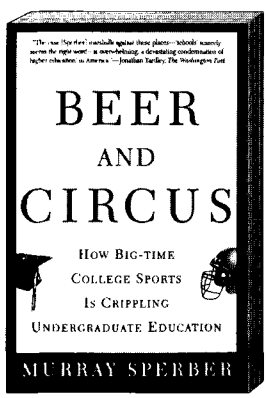

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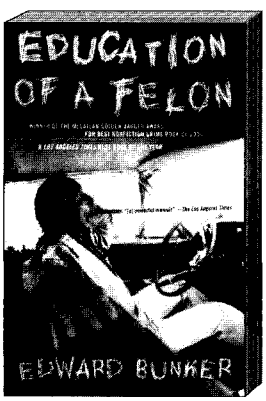

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A.A. MILNE WITH HIS SON, CHRISTOPHER ROBIN, 1925

BETTMANN/CORBIS

HOW MILNE WORKS

"'TRACKS,' SAID PIGLET. 'PAW-MARKS.' HE GAVE a little squeak of excitement. 'Oh, Pooh! Do you think it's a—a—a Woozle?' 'It may be,' said Pooh. 'Sometimes it is, and sometimes it isn't. You never can tell with paw-marks.'"

Winnie-the-Pooh aficionados will recognize the episode. While walking in the snow, Pooh happens upon some suspicious-looking tracks. Surmising that these must be Woozle tracks, he and Piglet embark on an out-and-out Woozle hunt. They walk and walk, but the farther they go, the more sets of paw marks they see. It is only when Christopher Robin arrives and asks why the two are walking around and around the same thicket in a loop that they understand their blunder.

To hear Frederick Crews talk, literary criticism has become one unending Woozle hunt. And with *Postmodern Pooh* (North Point Press), a successor to his 1963 best-seller, *The Pooh Perplex*, Crews seems intent on playing Christopher Robin, exposing the fallacies he believes have deluded his theory-hunting colleagues.

The Pooh Perplex, Crews's original satire of lit crit's trends and personalities, was modeled after then-popular freshman casebooks, which anthologized critical approaches to a given work of literature. Crews, a young assistant professor in UC-Berkeley's English department at the time, mimicked his colleagues with a set of articles offering everything from Marxist to Christian interpretations of *Pooh*.

Although several *Pooh Perplex* essays parodied actual scholars, Crews's barbs were gentle, aimed mostly at strained leaps of logic and overinflated egos. It is hard, for example, to find much real animosity in his Freudian parody, "A.A. Milne's Honey-Balloon-Pit-Gun-Tail-Bathtubcomplex." Indeed, with his 1966 book, *The Sins of the Fathers: Hawthorne's Psychological Themes*, Crews himself soon became a prominent Freudian critic.

Things have changed. In the late 1970s and 1980s, Crews did a critical about-face, disavowing Freud in a series of books and harsh attacks. Before long, he had also become an outspoken critic of the abstruse theoretical fads and political sloganeering he feared were overtaking literary scholarship.

Postmodern Pooh reflects Crews's increasingly combative stance. It is arranged as a set of outlandish papers from a special Pooh panel of the annual Modern Language Association conference, with each panelist standing in for a well-known individual or school of criticism. The presentations are embellished with detailed references to real scholarship, and their cumulative effect is far from flattering to contemporary critics.

To the fictitious New Historicist Victor S. Fassell, Pooh's ill-fated visit to Rabbit's burrow—wherein Pooh eats too much honey and becomes stuck—signals the eternal return of "the body." In a deliriously wide-ranging presentation, Fassell declares Pooh a virtual "proctological exhibit protruding into Rabbit's none too capacious dining area."

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E.H. SHEPARD, ILLUSTRATOR OF THE ORIGINAL WINNIE-THE-POOH BOOKS

But the Marxist Carla Gulag believes the episode depicts "inflammatory class differences between the possessive homeowner Rabbit and the itinerant beggar Pooh." She proceeds to heap praise on her mentor Fredric Jameson, devotedly quoting him at length. (Among the choicer tidbits: Jameson's assertion that Martin Heidegger's "political commitment" to Adolf Hitler was "morally and aesthetically preferable to apolitical liberalism.")

For his part, the rather Harold Bloom–like Orpheus Bruno speculates that Milne's books were actually written by Kafka or Virginia Woolf and describes a holy trinity of "three exceptional souls": Pooh, Falstaff, and himself. Other speakers offer postcolonial, feminist, and Derridean perspectives on Pooh.

As the panel wears on, the critics veer off on more obscure tangents, introduce progressively more contorted reasoning, and spend increasing amounts of time impugning one another. The real fighting, however, is left to the final two panelists: Dudley Cravat III (who bears an unmistakable resemblance to *New Criterion* editor, and dissenter from all things P.C., Roger Kimball) and the panel's moderator, N. Mack Hobbs (a dead ringer for Stanley Fish). They share thoughts on *Pooh* (Cravat considers it a repository of "Western Values," whereas Hobbs characterizes Milne as "a ruthless, cynical author"—"my kind of guy," he says), but most of their sparring concerns the state of literary criticism. Cravat slams the "Modish Languid Association," asserting that the papers on *Pooh* "read like parodies of academic literary criticism at its worst." An unfazed Hobbs follows, happily touting himself at length before declaring the panel a smashing success and thanking his critics for dubbing him "an enemy of reason." "That's celebrity that money can't buy," he gloats.

Postmodern Pooh is not exactly a gentle satire. But perhaps the scholars Crews lampoons can take heart from the book's difficult road to publication. In the mid 1990s, the president of Dutton Children's Books, publisher of Milne's *Pooh* stories, encouraged Crews to produce a sequel to his original parody. "What with structuralism, semiotics, deconstructionism, postmodernism, feminism, political correctness, etc.," he wrote, "there must be a number of novel ways the Best Bear of All might bend to the critical will." Crews replied that such a project would be "a very wild ride indeed, with hair-raising quotations from critics who shouldn't be sampled before the age of reason." It would not, in other words, be a children's book. Dutton's president was undeterred.

But by 2000, when Crews completed *Postmodern Pooh,* the guard at Dutton had changed. Dutton's staff rejected the book, explaining that a parody of the "ideological squabbles and jealousies of the academic world" had "a somewhat limited audience," and adding that they were particularly troubled by its "sexual content." (Dutton did not respond to *Lingua Franca*'s request for comment.)

Ultimately, Farrar, Straus and Giroux's North Point Press accepted Crews's manuscript. But there were complications yet to come. As originally written, *Postmodern Pooh,* like *The Pooh Perplex,* relied heavily on Ernest H. Shepard's original *Pooh* illustrations. But Dutton, which owns the images, refused to lease them to North Point. North Point appealed the decision to the Trustees of the Pooh Properties, but they supported Dutton, writing that they had enjoyed *The Pooh Perplex* and were "saddened that Professor Crews ha[d] now produced something which leaves such a nasty taste in the mouth."

Certainly, *Postmodern Pooh* is no children's book. But neither was *The Pooh Perplex*—particularly not with regard to "sexual content." Why, then, the hostile response? Leasing the illustrations for inclusion in *Postmodern Pooh,* Dutton wrote, would be "disrespectful to A.A. Milne and Ernest H. Shepard as well as damaging to the brand." Yes, the brand: In 1964—a year after *The Pooh Perplex* was first published—Disney acquired the film and merchandising rights to Milne's books and proceeded literally to redraw the characters. Although the results were decried by some as vulgar corruptions, lacking the charm or intelligence of Shepard's originals, they have proved fantastically lucrative. Disney's Pooh is even more successful than Mickey Mouse, and the company recently paid $350 million to renew its rights through 2026, when copyright expires.

In denying permission to reprint the Shepard illustrations, the trustees explained that Disney has contractually prohibited them from doing anything that "would detract from the reputation which the Pooh books currently enjoy" and warned that Disney had previously "taken steps against various uses of the Pooh material which the general public would find distasteful."

Presumably, takeoffs like Dutton's *Winnie-the-Pooh on Management* qualify as tasteful, whereas Karen Finley's recent *Pooh Unplugged* (Smart Art Press), which portrays a Hundred Acre Wood rife with sexual dysfunction, would qualify as distasteful. Still, it's hard to see how a spoof of literary theory—with its "somewhat limited audience"—might damage the Pooh brand. Perhaps Crews should have taken a cue from Finley, whose book comes with a warning: "Not meant for children or stupid adults."

KATE JULIAN

The Harold Bloom–like Orpheus Bruno describes a holy trinity of "three exceptional souls": Pooh, Falstaff, and himself.

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JANE ADDAMS, 1914

CORBIS

THE PRIME OF JANE ADDAMS

IN THE WANING DAYS OF THE WELFARE STATE, the big social questions are fashionable again: Who will look out for the poor? What sorts of ties bind individuals—and communities—together? While President George W. Bush turns to faith-based initiatives for answers, academics are looking back to Jane Addams. Jane Addams? That's right. After years of relative obscurity, the early-twentieth-century social crusader and author of *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1910) is once again in the spotlight.

Jean Bethke Elshtain, a professor of social and political ethics at the University of Chicago, has penned *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy*, an "intellectual biography" of Addams forthcoming from Basic Books. Louis Menand features Addams in a key chapter of his meditation on American pragmatism, *The Metaphysical Club*, recently published by Farrar, Straus and Giroux. And books by Addams herself are beginning to resurface. The University of Illinois Press has just reissued Addams's *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (1909). Two additional books by Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902) and *The Long Road of Woman's Memory* (1916), will be reissued by the press as early as this December. "Once other publishers see that we're doing this," predicts Joan Catapano, associate director of the University of Illinois Press, "they'll jump on the bandwagon, too."

The Addams who emerges from these accounts is a strident believer in a community-based model of citizenship. As Addams observed during her childhood in the close-knit town of Cedarville, Illinois, even the most downtrodden members of the community could thrive if given the opportunity to participate in social and religious life. At Hull-House, a center she founded in Chicago's Nineteenth Ward in 1889, she tried to replicate this model, providing the poor with shelter, instruction, day care, and entertainment. But Hull-House was by no means simply a center for "cultural uplift." Both Elshtain and Menand make clear that Hull-House emphasized active social engagement and cooperation among the classes that shared the city. The goal, says Elshtain, was to create a space where bricklayers and businessmen alike could debate, interpret, and ultimately act on their experiences.

Addams may have been a talented social worker and "bread giver" (a term she herself seized on during her education at Rockford Female Seminary), but she was also a remarkably effective public thinker and writer. She wrote twelve books and published 514 articles, became the first president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931. She had a knack for turning the particulars of her own experience in Chicago's Nineteenth Ward into general truths that people from Berlin to Topeka could understand. "She wasn't a system builder," says Elshtain, "but she had a way of working where she would turn the facts of urban poverty into brilliant prose, powerful narratives, and powerful stories."

In *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*, for example, Addams details the lives of adolescents in her neighborhood—the nineteen-year-old awaiting the death penalty for killing a police officer, the overworked factory girl—in order to make the more general claim that municipalities ought to pay for public recreation. She concludes: "All of us forget how very early we are in the experiment of founding self-government in this trying climate of America, and that we are making the experiment in the most materialistic period of all history, having as our court of last appeal against that materialism only the wonderful and inexplicable instinct for justice which resides in the hearts of men—which is never so irresistible as when the heart is young. We may cultivate this most precious possession, or we may disregard it. We may listen to the young voices rising clear above the roar of industrialism and the prudent councils of commerce, or we may become hypnotized by the sudden new emphasis placed upon wealth and power, and forget the supremacy of spiritual forces in men's affairs."

This same faith in humanity's "instinct for justice" was apparent in Addams's remarkable

After years of relative obscurity, an early-twentieth-century social crusader is once again in the spotlight.

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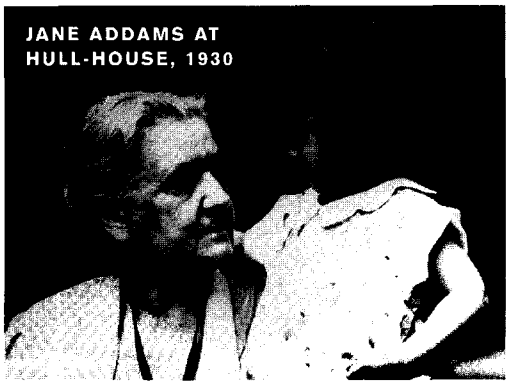

JANE ADDAMS AT HULL-HOUSE, 1930

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Addams convinced John Dewey not to support the 1894 Pullman strike.

confrontation with John Dewey over the 1894 Pullman strike. While Dewey initially supported the strike, Addams was opposed to it on the philosophical grounds that antagonisms between groups were, in some deep sense, "always unreal." As Menand writes in *The Metaphysical Club,* "What made the Pullman strike tragic, Addams thought, was the belief of both parties that their interests were genuinely opposed.... But antagonism (as she had tried to explain to Dewey) was only misunderstanding, a tension in the progress toward a common outcome." In the end, Dewey was so persuaded by Addams's argument that he changed his position on the strike—as well as his philosophical views. "I can see that I have always been interpreting the dialectic wrong end up," he wrote.

For all her accomplishments, Addams's conception of American democracy quickly lost favor in the age of big government. And as recently as the early 1990s, feminists chastised Elshtain for invoking Addams's name in a conference paper. "They saw her as a bourgeois reformer out to normalize the poor," Elshtain says. Today, however, the key problem that Addams addressed—how to activate local institutions to provide support to the poor, the alienated, and the disaffected—is relevant again.

This is not to say that Addams offers a flawless vision. Community-based social programs depend heavily on the talents of charismatic and energetic figures who are, well, just like Addams. Even Elshtain, one of Addams's biggest admirers, questions whether a community center like Hull-House would survive today. Nevertheless, she insists, Addams has much to teach us: "Addams would say that it's never too late to think about your neighbor, or do the simple thing like offer hospitality to those in need, to find a way to contribute to community, arts, and theater. Everybody can get involved one way or the other with making life less lonely."

ARIANNE CHERNOCK

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THE ROAD SCHOLAR

TO HER MOTORCYCLE BUDDIES, SHE'S BJ, not Professor Joans. She has a Ph.D., but that doesn't stop her from going to biker bars, attending Ladies of Harley meetings, and writing a monthly column for the motorcycle newspaper *Thunder Press*. She rides a 650-pound, 1,350-cc Harley Low Rider with a custom seat, an easy-pull clutch grip, and a multicolored scarf tied around the handlebars. She's been kicked off her bike and had knives pulled on her.

You might think twice before crossing her at a faculty meeting.

Meet Barbara Joans, an anthropologist at Merritt College in Oakland who wants to promote a better understanding of female participation in motorcycle culture. There's far more to women bikers, she contends, than the image conveyed by the stereotypical "biker chick"—the curvy, promiscuous blonde who sports a PROPERTY OF THE PYTHONS patch on her leather jacket and hangs on for dear life to the back of her boyfriend's hog. In her recently released *Bike Lust* (Wisconsin), Joans interviews a large number of female bikers—from professional women to traditional housewives to lesbian activists—and discovers a diverse cast of characters, including some of the "smartest, strongest, bravest women" she's ever met.

Introduced to the world of motorcycle riding by her husband, Joans saw firsthand how unreliable the stock images of female bikers are. "I hated all the stereotypes," she says. "I thought it was important to get out another view of motorcycle communities." She took seriously the ethnographic principle of participant observation—the idea that one can't write insightfully about a group without immersing oneself in it. At the no-longer-invulnerable age of fifty-five, she hopped on a Honda Rebel and learned to ride the wind.

A decade and two motorcycles later, Joans has befriended some remarkable women whose lives and stories make up the core of her book. Ever the social scientist, she sorts the women she talked with into categories. "Passengers" fall into three groups: Biker Chicks, who live up to the stereotype of young, sexually available women; Lady Passengers, bikers' wives or long-term girlfriends who aren't always a core part of the community; and Passionate Passengers, who love to ride but "lack the confidence to [ride] on their own" and thus ride with whomever they can.

"Riders" also fall into three groups, sorted primarily by mechanical aptitude (their ability to "wrench") and sexual availability: Lady Bikers, who can't wrench and rely on their "sexy-looking demeanor" for help when their bikes break down; Women Bikers, who can wrench and don't sleep around; and Women Riders (the group that Joans considers herself part of), who are neither mechanically expert nor sexually available. Members of the last group love riding, however, and stand "midway between" Lady Bikers and Women Bikers.

"I don't know if the women will see themselves in the six categories I wrote about," Joans cautions, though she notes that she allowed her subjects to read what she had written about them and to voice objections. Even though biker women do tend to fit into general categories, Joans makes sure to establish their individuality. "Shovelhead" Sherry Terpstre, a Woman Biker Joans interviewed, rode her bike the day after giving birth. Asked how she felt, Terpstre answered with a terse "sore." Another rider, a Lady Biker, is a San Francisco lawyer. Once, in the midst of a difficult divorce settlement, she drag raced the opposing lawyer (a male Harley rider) for a piano for her client—and won. Having met countless characters like these two, Joans regrets that these women are largely rebuked by mainstream America for straying from appropriate gender roles.

It wasn't always so. In the early days of motorcycling, manufacturers tried to market the sport as an inoffensive middle-class hobby. Advertisements from that era picture both male and female riders. One memorable ad even suggested that riding helped women develop a "blooming complexion" by exposing them to high winds. In the years after World War II, however, biking assumed its modern cultural character. Gangs of disillusioned veterans, alienated from mainstream American values of family and work, adopted the stripped-down, utilitarian style and antiauthoritarian ethos immortalized in the 1954 Marlon Brando film *The Wild One*. In turn, women on motorcycles went from self-sufficient riders to passengers—not unlike the women who left their wartime factory jobs to become housewives again. "The culture," laments Joans, " shifts from women making independent choices to being someone's girl again."

Why would any self-respecting woman immerse herself in such a chauvinist milieu? What captured Joans was the sense of community. "America is so fragmented that this is like a return to the small-scale society," says Joans, who adds that she "would have loved to live in the Paleolithic." Moreover, she finds the community's candor refreshing. "They don't bullshit," she explains. "If they don't like you, they tell you."

BARBARA JOANS

At the no-longer-invulnerable age of fifty-five, Joans hopped on a Honda Rebel and learned to ride the wind.

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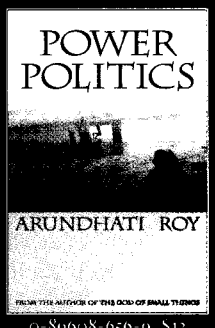
Power Politics

Arundhati Roy



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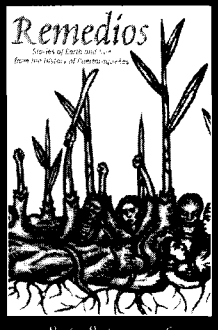

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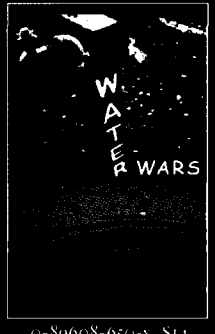

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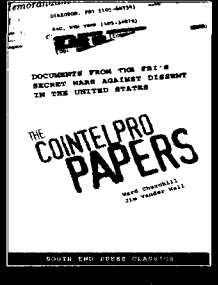

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And tell her they did. As a feminist and a progressive academic, Joans had plenty of disagreements with bikers she rode with. In the early days, she writes, she "talked women's rights." She once backed a female passenger's right to ride (or "pack," in biker parlance) with a biker other than her husband. When the husband came after Joans with a hunting knife, she was saved only by a fellow biker's intervention. Another time, she was attending a biker meeting when a radio report announced a Gulf War protest. Dismayed, the bikers resolved to ride downtown and break up the march. Joans argued that the protesters had a right to march and should not be harassed, but the unconvinced bikers headed for their "scoots." Joans was adamant, however, so she raced to her own bike and tried to block the door. "Luckily," she explains, "a friend grabbed me off [my bike] and we rode away fast."

"It took me a long time to learn to keep my mouth shut and listen," she writes. "It took me a longer time to start acting like an anthropologist and not some pissed-off member of the community." She has learned to accept incremental change. In "the pit," a gorge where riders camp during the annual Redwood Run, men now compete in a wet-shorts contest to complement the traditional wet T-shirt contest. As more women decide to enter the biker world, Joans believes, the culture will be forced to change for the better.

In the meantime, perhaps some change is coming from within as well as without. One woman Joans interviewed had this to say about gender and bikers: "I know the stereotype of a biker is supermacho, but all the men I like most who I have ridden with get most in touch with their feminine side when they are riding. When they are on the bike they are experiencing their feelings and they are part of the world around them. They are in touch with themselves." Bikers at their most feminine when cruising on their hogs? Maybe, but don't tell them that.

JOSH SAUNDERS

BLOOD AND SOIL

ACCORDING TO THE OLD TESTAMENT, THE Biblical city of Taanach is one of the Canaanite strongholds that Joshua conquered as he led the Israelites into the Promised Land. It would seem to be an excellent site for an archaeological dig. But it was not in the ruins of Taanach but in the adjacent modern village of Ti'innik that the American archaeologist Albert Glock and his team of Palestinian students began an unusual excavation. The year was 1987, and the Palestinian uprising, or *intifada*, against the Israeli military occupation of the West Bank was brewing. Even as young Palestinians protested in the streets of Ramallah, Nablus, and Hebron, Glock hoped that his investigations into the Middle Eastern past could be sheltered from the conflicts of the Middle Eastern present. Instead, it became devastatingly clear that the two worlds were all but inextricable.

COURTESY OF LOIS GLOCK

ALBERT GLOCK (LEFT) AT AN EXCAVATION SITE IN 1979

As the British journalist Edward Fox shows in his engrossing new book, *Sacred Geography: A Tale of Murder and Archaeology in the Holy Land* (Metropolitan), Glock set himself an almost impossible task. Since 1902, when the first excavation at Taanach began, archaeologists, Bible scholars, and historians had been drawn to the biblical city while paying scant attention to the modern-day village nestled at the foot of the man-made archaeological mound. During his work at Taanach in the 1960s, Glock came to worry that this exclusive focus on the biblical past reinforced Israeli claims on Palestine, while leaving the Arab contribution to Palestine's history overlooked.

And so when Glock became the founding director of Birzeit University's Palestinian Institute of Archaeology in 1987, he decided he would take a different tack: He would focus on the neglected village. He and his students excavated ruined pavements, the destroyed foundations of walls, and the mud ovens the villagers used long ago. They sifted through Ottoman

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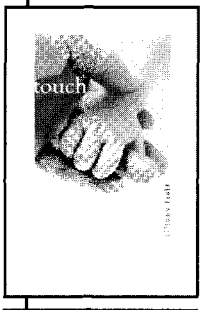

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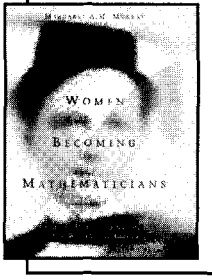

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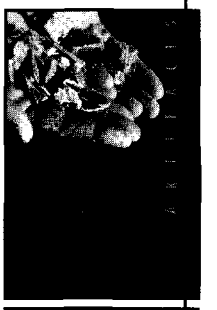

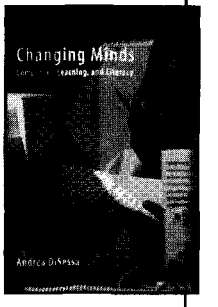

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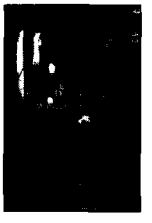

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tax records to find information about what life had been like in the village, and they interviewed elderly villagers in an attempt to trace Ti'innik's development. The idea was to begin with the end of the Ottoman era in 1917 and then move back in time with an eye toward ultimately connecting the history of the village to that of its biblical predecessor, Taanach.

But Glock never got a chance to reach Taanach. At three o'clock on Sunday afternoon, January 19, 1992, Glock, returning from the university, stopped at the West Bank home of his teaching assistant. A man dressed in a dark jacket, jeans, sneakers, and a black-and-white Arab headdress crept up behind Glock, firing three times and leaving him dying in a pool of blood at the bottom of the driveway. The murder has never been solved.

In the years since Glock's death, the archaeological sites of the West Bank have remained a pitched battlefield between the Israelis and the Palestinians. A group of Palestinian intellectuals, politicians, and scholars has begun promoting the idea that Palestinians are the true descendants of the earliest inhabitants of Canaan. Meanwhile, even as the Israelis withdrew from areas of the West Bank as mandated under the 1993 Oslo accords, they made sure to retain control of many key biblical archaeological sites. (Taanach was not one of them; it is now in Palestinian hands.) Glock's murder was an early indication of how high the stakes could get in this struggle over ruins and rocks.

Indeed, in the days and weeks that followed Glock's murder, Birzeit University and the Palestine Liberation Organization issued statements suggesting that Glock had been killed because his archaeological work threatened to contest the Israeli version of the history of Palestine. "Look at the archaeology," a Palestinian source told Fox as the journalist embarked on a quest that would take him to the Middle East, where he enrolled as a foreign student at Birzeit.

There, in the shadows of Glock's life, Fox sifted through his correspondence, letters, diaries, computer disks, and published and unpublished papers, all provided by Glock's widow, who now lives in New Jersey. What emerged was clear evidence that Glock's dig at Ti'innik had upset both Israeli versions of history and Palestinian notions of who the Palestinians are and where they came from. The villagers of Ti'innik had found Glock and his students to be strange and, in some ways, threatening. Some even suspected that the team was hunting for buried treasure. And despite his efforts to convince his politically active students that completing the Ti'innik dig was a valuable activity, Glock could not keep them away from the conflict raging on the streets.

Fox eventually followed his trail of evidence to a hiring dispute at the Birzeit archaeology institute. In the summer of 1991, Glock had resisted giving a teaching contract to a Palestinian. Outraged students held demonstrations; soon, the teachers union got involved, and even Glock's assistants turned against him. An article in the widely read newspaper *Al-Quds* portrayed Glock as one more outsider trying to come in and take Palestine's past away from the Palestinians. Although Fox never conclusively determines who pulled the trigger, he does conclude that it was most likely a Palestinian. Glock's murder was yet another result of the suspicion and violence that characterized the *intifada* years.

The main weakness of *Sacred Geography* is that it seems to suggest that Glock's theories were at the forefront of archaeological discussions. They weren't. Glock never wrote a book, and his ideas were barely known at the time of his death beyond a small circle of friends and colleagues. At Birzeit today, the archaeology program continues, although probably not in the direction Glock wanted. The Ti'innik dig site has been abandoned, and the Palestinians have little patience with Glock's legacy. His interest in searching for signs of Palestinian cultural continuity on the land remains, but his ideas about starting from the Ottoman period and working backward toward the biblical era have fallen from favor. Palestinian archaeologists prefer to jump right back to the Canaanites in hopes of establishing a story that places them in the Promised Land before the Israelis.

These are unfortunate developments, because Glock was onto something important. He realized that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict cannot be solved simply by territorial compromise. It also requires developing a more expansive narrative, one that is able to include the stories of both peoples that share the land. More than any other era, the neglected Ottoman period promises to chronicle the histories of both Arabs and Jews. It is in the local family archives, tax records, and court documents of that period that the first stirrings of Palestinian national identity can be seen, as well as the social and economic changes that led to the large-scale immigration of Jews to the area and the eventual emergence of Israel. It is there that archaeology has the potential to illuminate a common heritage rather than an intractable conflict.

AMY DOCKSER MARCUS

COURTESY OF LOIS GLOCK

ALBERT GLOCK

The murder of the American archaeologist Albert Glock has never been solved.

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THE ARTISTIC ANIMAL

Is creativity in our genes? The self-made scholar Ellen Dissanayake thinks so, but it has taken her a lifetime of experience outside the academy to find out why.

BY **CALEB CRAIN**

SUPPOSE THERE WERE A PERSON WHO SAW, BEFORE ALMOST ANYONE else, that the most important concept in modern biology could be applied to the arts. Suppose, however, that this person studied biology only as an undergraduate, never took a class in anthropology, and never received a Ph.D. Suppose, in fact, that she were a homemaker for a dozen years and then spent fifteen years in the Third World, where it was difficult for her to gain access to the research libraries and social networks that most professors take for granted. Nevertheless, over the past two decades—with no more institutional support than a few years of adjunct teaching, several grants, and a couple of visiting professorships—she has managed to publish three books setting forth her ideas. And today a new field of study has sprung up where she pioneered. Suppose, in addition, that some people think a scholarly framework based on her insights will displace much of current aesthetic theory—that future generations will understand literature and the arts as she does, thereby reconciling the humanities to the science of human nature.

From the shape of her career alone, you might think this is the description of an intellectual hero. Or you might be tempted to dismiss her as an amateur. After all, you've probably never heard of Ellen Dissanayake.

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DAVID PERRY

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The best-known scholars of evolution and human behavior, however, speak of Dissanayake with admiration and respect. "She is a true pioneer," says Harvard University's Edward O. Wilson, one of the founders of sociobiology, who cited her in his 1998 book, *Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge*. MIT's Steven Pinker, author of *How the Mind Works,* calls her "ahead of her time." The University of New Mexico's Geoffrey Miller, author of *The Mating Mind,* believes that her books were "the first to take a serious Darwinian look at art and human ornamentation as genuine adaptations"—the first since Charles Darwin, at any rate.

"Most people are too chicken to do what she's doing," says Leda Cosmides, a psychology professor at the University of California at Santa Barbara. "Ellen is one of the bravest people I know, because she was willing to go after an interesting question early on, before the more timid would touch it."

Dissanayake posed that question boldly in her first book: "Since all human societies, past and present, so far as we know, make and respond to art, it must contribute something essential to human life. But what?" A biologist, she proposed, would consider art a set of behaviors rather than a class of objects. Dissanayake was more interested in sculpting than in marble statues and even more intrigued by dynamic arts like singing and dancing. She reasoned that if natural selection had shaped these behaviors—as it had shaped every other functional aspect of human design—then the behaviors must result from predispositions that gave hominids an advantage over their competitors as they evolved. What was that advantage? Dissanayake has looked for it in children's play, premodern ritual, and mother-infant attachment. There is no consensus among evolutionary psychologists that she has discovered the definitive answer. But there is a widespread belief that she has found the right way to ask the question.

HOWEVER fierce Dissanayake may be as a thinker, she is gentle in person. "She has a real talent for not getting people mad," says Michelle Scalise Sugiyama, an assistant professor at the University of Oregon, "for not triggering a hostile reaction to a biological approach to the function of art." Dissanayake's voice is mild, as if she were saying good-bye to you before she was quite ready to. Often she gives her declarative sentences the intonation of questions. She is a grandmother, and she offers to share with a reporter the lentil soup she has cooked for lunch.

In the living room of her Seattle apartment, an upright piano has pride of place. (Her office is tucked into a converted closet, where a window originally designed to air clothes gives light.) Every corner of the apartment holds art, ranging from premodern to postmodern. A wood carving of a female fertility figure from a yam ceremony in Papua New Guinea peers over the shoulder of a visitor who sits on the couch. Hanging on a wall is a sculpture given to her by the Alaska-based artist Don Mohr, who constructed it from an old Dictaphone by replacing one side of the exterior with Plexiglas and the innards with a paperback of Dissanayake's first book. When plugged in, wheels inside whir smoothly.

Ellen Dissanayake, née Franzen, was born in Illinois and raised in Walla Walla, Washington, where her father was an engineer and her mother a homemaker. "We had a neighbor with a piano, and I was one of those little girls who could pick out stuff by ear," she says. She took lessons, and when she set off for Washington State University in Pullman, she chose to major in music. In college—and later as well—she found that her feelings during a concert could be startlingly intense. "I would be listening in an audience, and suddenly I would feel like I had been taken over," she recalls.

In those days, Washington State required all students to study science. Dissanayake took two courses in biology. "I found I really liked it," she says. "If I hadn't taken those classes, I don't think my life would have been the same." She graduated in 1957. She had met an aspiring biologist named John F. Eisenberg, and two weeks after her twenty-first birthday they were married. They moved to Berkeley, where Eisenberg began graduate school.

"John and I were both among the top ten students of our graduating class," Dissanayake explains. "But no one said that I should go to graduate school, and if they had, I probably would have turned it down." She worked briefly as a secretary and then raised the couple's two children. She was, she admits, "a 1950s housewife."

Informally, though, her education continued. Because her husband studied zoology, she was exposed to the principles of natural selection and their influence on animal behavior. "I had this social world of ethology," Dissanayake says. "We'd sit around and talk with the graduate students and make these links," sometimes comparing the behavior of animals and humans. She also picked up ideas while typing her husband's papers and translating articles he wanted to read.

After John earned his doctorate, the Eisenbergs moved to Vancouver. Two years later, when Eisenberg was offered a position at the University of Maryland, they moved to the East Coast. Not long after, the Smithsonian Institution named Eisenberg director of research at the National Zoo. He brought animals home from his new job: At various times, a pangolin, a cavy, hedgehogs, pocket mice, desert rats, and a genet lived in their house. "City boy," she teases when a reporter asks what a cavy is. "It's a rodent that looks like a little deer, with these big brown eyes." She bottle-fed it. "Living with John," she says, "I really came to realize that humans are animals in a way that I would not have otherwise."

With her husband's encouragement, she began work toward a master's degree in art history at the University of Maryland. Then, in June 1968, the Smithsonian sent Eisenberg to Sri Lanka on a project that included a census of the island's wild elephants. The family settled for a year in Kandy, one of Sri Lanka's ancient cities. While John was in the jungle, Ellen homeschooled the children. She also rented a piano. "I hadn't played for years," she recalls. "I'd stopped when we left Berkeley." She began playing music with a group of expatriates and Sri Lankans, and soon she was part of their circle. "This was before television" came to Sri Lanka, she explains. "It was very much a Victorian atmosphere." The group met once a week to play music together. "These were well-educated, broadly educated people," she says. Many were doctors. One of them, S.B. Dissanayake, a professor of dentistry with an interest in public health, would become her second husband.

AFTER finishing her master's degree in Maryland in 1970, Ellen returned to Sri Lanka. She had hoped to bring her

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FROM LEFT: DISSANAYAKE IN SRI LANKA IN THE EARLY 1970s; THE DISSANAYAKE FAMILY ON A PILGRIMAGE IN THE MID-1970s; SRI LANKAN ROCK PAINTINGS FROM APPROXIMATELY THE FIFTH-CENTURY A.D.

IN SRI LANKA, DISSANAYAKE WAS EXPOSED TO A WORLD WHERE ART AND RITUAL SATURATED EVERYDAY LIFE. SHE BEGAN TO WONDER HOW ART MIGHT HAVE BENEFITED EARLY HUMAN SOCIETIES.

children with her, but she was unable to—a circumstance she describes as "the one regret in my life, the one blot that will never be washed away." Trying to explain her decision today, she focuses on what drew her to the country. "I don't know whether you've ever talked to anybody who's been to countries where they wanted to go native," she says. "To me it was a kind of awakening to a world of nature and a premodern world."

In her second husband's home, which he had designed himself, the windows were always open. In photographs, in fact, they look less like windows than like the strategic omission of walls. Bats flew in and out. When it rained, you could hear the water hitting the giant leaves outside. A Buddhist temple stood nearby. "There was always some tree in bloom," she recalls, "with fragrance that would waft into the house." They had to boil the water they drank, they slept under mosquito netting, and they had no running hot water. Yet they had a record player, a subscription to the *Times Literary Supplement*, and "bookshelves with Proust and stacks of French film magazines."

Sri Lanka made Shakespeare intelligible to Dissanayake: It was a world with fools and omens. The arts saturated everyday life. People offered flowers at the temple and drew symbols on the floor before bullocks threshed the rice. She observed the rituals closely. The experiences started her on a new train of thought.

But she still had not openly embraced an intellectual career. "It was a hidden life," she says. In 1974, however, Dissanayake succeeded for the first time in publishing her work. Thanks to a favorable reader's report from Desmond Morris, author of *The Naked Ape*, a version of a master's seminar paper she had written about art and play appeared in a new Paris-based journal called *Leonardo*. Morris also invited her to contribute to a book he hoped to edit on art and biology.

"I was really, really thrilled, right?" Dissanayake says. "I wrote back to him, and I was very bold." She told Morris about her new interest in ritual and explained that to educate herself she needed access to a library with a first-class anthropology collection. Without consulting her husband, she offered to work as Morris's secretary in England in exchange for access to Oxford's library. Morris put her in touch with the Rutgers University anthropologists Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox, who were then in charge of the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation. They awarded her a six-month fellowship.

For Dissanayake, it was a dream come true. "I would go to the Bodleian Library at nine in the morning and come home at five at night," she recalls. "I'd walk there and back again and just feel joy rising in my throat. I was so happy to be able to do that, and just to do that." She took masses of color-coded notes. And when she returned to Sri Lanka, she began to write her first book.

"IN HINDSIGHT, it almost seems as if everything were leading up to writing the books," Dissanayake says of her life story. Indeed, her theory of the arts draws both on what she learned about natural selection and animal behavior while living with her first husband and on what she learned about ritual, the arts, and premodern cultures while living with her second.

It's difficult to discuss her first book, *What Is Art For?* (1988), without reference to her other two, *Homo Aestheticus: Where Art Comes From and Why* (1992) and *Art and Intimacy: How the Arts Began* (2000). The three are not so much distinct works as snapshots of a single theory at different stages of development. That theory starts with a striking set of observations.

First, the arts appear to be universal. No one has found a culture that lacks them. Second, they consume a large portion of available resources. Among the Owerri in Nigeria, for example, the artists

LEFT AND CENTER: ELLEN DISSANAYAKE; RIGHT: CORBIS

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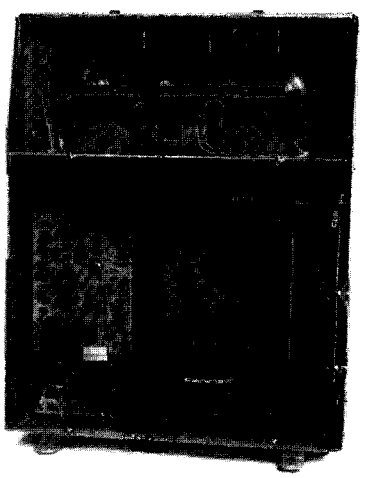
who build and paint ceremonial *mbari* houses are exempted for up to two years from the workload normally expected of healthy adults. Third, the arts give pleasure. Our internal motivational systems reward us for making and appreciating the arts the same way they reward us for having sex, spending time with friends, and eating nutritious food: The experiences feel good. And fourth, young children engage in the arts almost spontaneously. With only gentle encouragement, children will sing, move to music, make believe, scribble, and play with words. Together, these four facts suggest to Dissanayake that natural selection long ago rendered the arts a standard component of human behavior.

But is art a well-defined category for biological study? In its freedom from social rules, art resembles play, while in its emphasis on display and embellishment, it resembles ritual. To focus her inquiry, Dissanayake has picked out a common element: During all these activities, humans make something special. That is, they distinguish an object or action from the ordinary. "What's interesting about humans," Dissanayake says, "is that they gild the lily. They do more than is necessary." "Making special," rather than "art," is what Dissanayake studies.

What does making special accomplish? Something that has been made special is more likely to attract and engage the attention of others. Dissanayake offers as an example the hand axes fashioned by *Homo erectus* between 1.6 million and 200,000 years ago. Flat and almond-shaped, with both front-back and left-right symmetry, the axes fit comfortably in the hand and have sharp cutting edges that meet in a point. They were clearly useful, but they cannot have been merely tools—they are too attractive. Some are made from pieces of flint with embedded fossil shells that figure on the sides of the hand axes as ornaments. Others, under inspection by electron microscope, show no evidence of the wear and tear of use. Even a plain, well-worn hand ax is the result of far more care than would be required to produce a stone capable of cutting, and the pains taken by *Homo erectus* hundreds of thousands of years ago can stir strong feelings in *Homo sapiens* today.

At the simplest level, making special might involve choosing a raw material with a bright color or an impressive sheen. But any process that assists in conveying emotion may help to make a thing special. Dissanayake writes about rhythms and modes—referring to the ways a work of art unfolds in time and space and to the variety of textures and sensations it deploys. For example, a singer may establish a relationship with his audience through patterns of anticipation, delay, and satisfaction. It is probably no accident that these patterns are also characteristic of mother-infant bonding and adult lovemaking. Dissanayake speculates that the techniques of making special are part of the standard human equipment for creating and maintaining



DICTAPHONE SCULPTURE BY DON MOHR

affectionate relationships. Like mothering and courtship, they are affiliative behaviors.

To see how making special might have aided human survival in the Pleistocene, Dissanayake looks to rituals performed in hunter-gatherer societies that were documented by early-twentieth-century anthropologists. Those rituals were multimedia syntheses of song, dance, and visual ornamentation. These arts, she believes, would have helped to elicit a greater emotional response to whatever ritual they embellished, and the ritual in turn would have reinforced "group one-heartedness (belonging) and like-mindedness (meaning)." As Dissanayake explains in *What Is Art For?*: "A society that performed communal rites that bound its members in common beliefs and values would presumably have been more cohesive and therefore more equipped for survival than one that did not." The tribe that prayed together stayed together (and caught more ungulates and had more children).

Each of Dissanayake's books concludes with an exhortation. In *What Is Art For?* she argues that the arts should be integrated into modern life, as they are in premodern cultures, not set aside as the fiefdom of specialists self-conscious about their outsider status. In *Art and Intimacy,* she calls for more art education in schools. And in *Homo Aestheticus,* she takes aim at the hyperliterate credo of poststructuralism: The arts are a part of our evolved nature, she explains; literacy, a recent invention, isn't. She diagnoses the Derridean notion that there is nothing outside the text as a delusion typical of—and flattering to—someone overinvested in the skill of writing. She dismisses as "poppycock" the notion that there cannot be thinking or experience without language. Split-brain studies, she points out, plainly document the contrary; patients with no link between their left and right hemispheres can use drawings to answer questions they cannot respond to with language. Until language stamps it with meaning, Gayatri Spivak once argued, the "shudder in the nerve strings" is "a direct sign of nothing." Dissanayake retorts: "Nothing? Fire is hot. Hunger is bad. Babies are good."

S.B. DISSANAYAKE'S work in public health took the couple to Nigeria in 1979 and to Papua New Guinea in 1982. Ellen had not yet found a publisher for her book, and as she revised, observations of premodern rituals in both countries found their way into her manuscript.

Her scholarly luck changed, however, after an essay of hers appeared in *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* in 1980. She received a fan letter from David Mandel, a retired labor lawyer in New York with an interest in art and human evolution, who soon became her "fairy godfather": In 1983 he offered to sponsor a lectureship for her at the New School's graduate program in liberal studies. For three years, she would receive an annual stipend of ten thousand dollars.

In New York, Dissanayake found that she loved teaching and loved the NYU library, to which New School faculty have access. Unfortunately, Mandel's support did not continue as planned. Sympathetic administrators offered to fund Dissanayake for a second year, at about half the sum that Mandel had provided. But after that, she would receive only the standard New School rate—less than half of that half, and not enough to support life in Manhattan and pay for a round-trip ticket

"MANIFESTATIONS OF WHAT MIGHT BE ART, 1990," DON MOHR

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DISSANAYAKE AT THE PIANO IN THE LIVING ROOM OF HER APARTMENT IN SEATTLE. EVERY CORNER OF THE APARTMENT HOLDS ART, RANGING IN TIME FROM THE PREMODERN TO THE POSTMODERN.

DAVID PERRY

"I USED TO LONG TO BE AT A UNIVERSITY," DISSANAYAKE RECALLS. "I'D JUST FEEL THIS ACHE. I WOULD THINK, THIS IS HOW WOMEN MUST FEEL WHO'D LIKE TO HAVE A BABY AND CAN'T."

to Sri Lanka. In the spring of 1985, Dissanayake again faced a choice. "I realized that if I went back to Sri Lanka, I wouldn't be able to do this anymore."

She stayed. "It was a difficult decision," she says quietly. She had been "a closet scholar," as she puts it, for years, but now her livelihood would depend on it. She found an inexpensive Manhattan apartment and took a job at a transcription agency to make ends meet. In October of that year, *What Is Art For?* was at last accepted for publication, by the University of Washington Press.

Over the next three years, her teaching duties became more burdensome. She sold the rights to her next book, *Homo Aestheticus,* to the Free Press for five thousand dollars and lived on the advance for six months, but she needed to find a new way to support herself as a scholar. Serendipitously, when *What Is Art For?* was finally published, in 1988, it was embraced by an audience she had not reckoned on. Art educators, art therapists, and craftspeople welcomed her conclusion that the arts were essential to human nature. In 1991, the National Art Education Association invited Dissanayake to give the keynote speech at its annual convention in Atlanta. She received a standing ovation. Over the next decade, she says, she gave more than a hundred paid lectures.

"I used to long to be at a university," Dissanayake recalls. "I'd just feel this ache. I would think, This is how women must feel who'd like to have a baby and can't." She has come close to returning to academe. She has held visiting professorships at Ball State University (1997) and at the University of Alberta in Edmonton (1998). In 1993, she won a fellowship to study mother-infant bonding with Colwyn Trevarthen at the University of Edinburgh's Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities. It was in Scotland that Dissanayake learned more of the details concerning mother-infant affiliative behavior that distinguish *Art and Intimacy* from her earlier work—and from nearly all other studies of evolution and the arts.

After Scotland, Dissanayake spent three years writing *Art and Intimacy* at her parents' house in Port Townsend,

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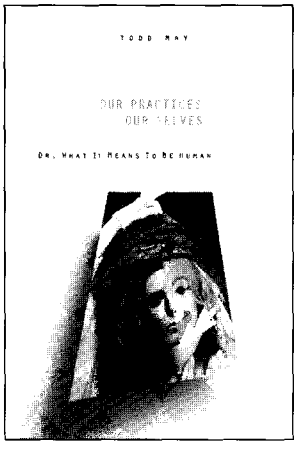
WHAT IT MEANS TO BE HUMAN



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Washington, before settling in Seattle. Today, for the first time, she owns her home. "Maybe I'm ready just to play chamber music and read Emerson for the rest of my life," she suggests. But then she names two more books she wants to write—an evolutionary analysis of music and a rebuttal to evolutionary psychologists who in her opinion have underestimated the arts.

DISSANAYAKE is not the first to speculate that the arts are an evolved behavior. In *The Descent of Man*, Darwin noted that humans share the sense of beauty with other animals. Bowerbirds, for example, ornament "their playing-passages with gaily-coloured objects." He believed that if apes could give their opinion, they "would probably declare that they could and did admire the beauty of the coloured skin and fur of their partners in marriage."

But although Darwin wondered about natural selection and the arts more than a century ago, Dissanayake's most attentive critics—her loyal opposition, as it were—belong to a school of thought so young that it did not exist when she started to write on the topic: evolutionary psychology. The discipline's manifesto, written by Leda Cosmides and her husband, the UC-Santa Barbara anthropology professor John Tooby, appeared in 1992 as the first chapter of an anthology titled *The Adapted Mind: Evolutionary Psychology and the Generation of Culture* (Oxford). Tooby and Cosmides proposed to examine how natural selection shaped human behavior. In this, their field resembled sociobiology, its controversial predecessor. But evolutionary psychology disavowed any comprehensive explanation of present-day human behavior by emphasizing that natural selection designed humans to succeed on the African savanna of the Pleistocene—an environment radically unlike the urban, industrialized, literate world where most of us now live.

Evolutionary psychologists have found evidence that seems to confirm Darwin's hunch that human aesthetic preferences have been shaped by natural selection. For example, most people find a grassland with scattered trees to be the prettiest kind of landscape—no surprise, since that's how the African savanna looked during the Pleistocene, and it would make sense if our predilections encouraged us to seek out the terrain we are best equipped to survive in. When eight-year-olds are shown photos of a rain forest, a deciduous forest, a coniferous forest, an East African savanna, and a desert, they overwhelmingly pick the savanna as the place they would most like to live.

For the aesthetics of mate selection, evolutionary psychologists have even sharper theories and even better evidence. A preference for symmetrical features and blemish-free skin, they explain, probably lowers the chance that the future parent of your children will be riddled with parasites and mutations. Men generally prefer women with a waist-to-hip ratio of 0.70 or lower, presumably because the ratio correlates with high fertility. Women seem to prefer men who are six to seven inches taller than they are, most likely because height correlates with power, status, and wealth. (Human penises are larger than those of other primates because human females appear to fancy a few more inches in that department too.) But do a set of evolved preferences amount to the evolution of art? A skeptic might find apropos this line from Glenway Wescott's novel *The Pilgrim Hawk*: "No doubt art is too exceptional to be worth talking about; but sex is not."

No such skepticism afflicts Geoffrey Miller. Like Dissanayake, Miller has a proposal to explain what art is for. In *The Mating Mind* (Doubleday, 2000), he suggests that the arts—and many other aspects of human culture—first developed as a way of showing off to prospective mates. The more complex and delicate the arts became, the more taxing they were of brainpower and the better they functioned as indicators of an individual's vigor. In Miller's view, "the peacock's tail, the nightingale's song, the bowerbird's nest, the butterfly's wing, the Irish elk's antlers, the baboon's rump, and the first three Led Zeppelin albums" are all forms of romantic excess. They advertise good health and good genes (and the prospect of good sex) by throwing effort away as conspicuously as possible.

But most evolutionary psychologists doubt that either Miller or Dissanayake has discovered the adaptive function of the arts, because they doubt that the arts have an adaptive function at all. We have evolved preferences that help us choose mates, real estate, and things to eat. And "we're good

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at making things," explains Steven Pinker. "Put those two facts together, and you've got a species that's smart enough to know how to concoct artificial stimuli to push its own pleasure buttons." Pinker likens the arts to pornography, strawberry cheesecake, and drug abuse. Drug abuse, for example, is present in almost every culture, consumes gross amounts of an individual's energy and resources, and is intensely pleasurable. But it is not a behavior that anyone would call adaptive.

Pinker is not persuaded that there is a close enough fit between the behavior Dissanayake describes and the benefit she thinks it offers. Art probably does coordinate an audience's emotions, he concedes, but to prove that it evolved specifically for that purpose, you would have to show that art was one of the most efficient ways imaginable to achieve it. If you were going to design group cohesion from scratch, he asks, "Is there any compelling reason that you would smear pigment on a cave wall or make rhythmic and tonal noises?"

Pinker believes the arts are a by-product of other adaptations. Cosmides shares many of his reservations, but lately she has begun to reconsider. "Ten or fifteen years ago, I would have said that obviously the arts are a by-product and I haven't heard any interesting arguments otherwise," Cosmides says. "I think that's changed." What provokes her is something she calls "off-line thinking."

"When you're in a movie theater watching *Jaws,* your emotion system is actually engaged, but your motor system is not," Cosmides explains. "Nobody has to hold you back from the screen." That's odd, given that emotions are what spur us into action, and it suggests that humans are well designed for appreciating fictional narratives. Furthermore, we have a strong appetite for off-line experiences: We watch sitcoms and dramas more often than news programs and documentaries. And that's odd, because those shows contain very little accurate information about the world. What might the evolutionary advantage of fiction be? Cosmides doesn't rule out Dissanayake's proposal, but she offers a few of her own.

In a recent article in the journal *SubStance,* Cosmides and Tooby have suggested that telling and enjoying stories might be the ways that human brains build the mental components responsible for managing social behavior. Most such assembly processes finish their task and then disappear (babbling, for example, subsides after infants learn to speak), but it may be that social behavior is so complex and vital that humans never stop tinkering with this particular weapon in their psychic armamentarium. "It might be that a cheap way of learning about the social world is to run simulations," says Cosmides. "So if you're reading *Lord Jim,* you're learning about what happens in a social community when somebody does what's considered to be an act of cowardice."

UNLIKE DISSANAYAKE, STEVEN PINKER DOES NOT BELIEVE THE ARTS ARE AN EVOLUTIONARY ADAPTATION. HE LIKENS THEM INSTEAD TO PORNOGRAPHY, STRAWBERRY CHEESECAKE, AND DRUG ABUSE.

TO DESCRIBE the brain's architecture, evolutionary psychologists like Miller, Pinker, and Cosmides borrow heavily from the vocabulary of cognitive psychology, which can have the disembodied tone of computer programming. While Dissanayake is wondering how art would make a group of hunter-gatherers feel, her critics sometimes seem to be daydreaming about how to program social robots. Naturally enough, her replies to their objections call on the emotions and lived experience.

Although she agrees in part with Miller's thesis that the arts serve the purposes of sexual display and competition, she says, "I think that the arts observably do more than that." In her opinion, Miller's thesis doesn't account for all the feelings and social effects caused by art. Nor, she feels, is sexual display always relevant to artistic effort. She points out that in many traditional cultures, innovation and competition are not at issue. "Australian Aborigines had to make their sand paintings and designs exactly the same as they had been painted before," she explains. "No one was going to be better at painting all those dots along the path to the water hole."

What about Pinker's doubt that visual stimulus and rhythmic interaction are efficient ways of engineering group cohesion? "Well, it works between mothers and babies," Dissanayake says. Mothers and infants establish and maintain their bond by mimicking each other's facial expressions and exchanging singsong speech. Between them, timing and intensity are delicate matters, as is clear from a charming experiment by Daniel Stern that Dissanayake describes in *Homo Aestheticus.* Normally, if a mother jiggles her baby's bottom, he will continue to play as if nothing has happened. But Stern found that if he asked a mother to mistime her jiggle, even slightly, so as not to match her estimate of the child's excitement level, the baby would stop playing and give her a questioning look. However unwieldy and complex they may seem, Dissanayake's "rhythms and modes" may be the standard way that humans build and maintain a sympathetic connection. "That's the feeling of connectedness you have with anybody when your rhythms are in sync," she says. "It occurs in lovemaking. It occurs in good conversation when people are on the same wavelength. And other animals don't do it."

As for Cosmides's hypothesis that fiction is social learning by means of simulation, Dissanayake is not convinced that the gain in strategic knowledge would justify the trouble and expense of making art. Nor does the hypothesis explain what would motivate an artist to share his work, nor how aesthetic elements command an audience's interest. Dissanayake gives an example: If Tolstoy's short story "The Kreutzer Sonata" were condensed into a police-blotter report, all the social facts would appear in the summary: A jealous husband murders his wife because he hears her love for another man expressed in her piano playing. But even when readers know how it ends, they insist on enjoying the story itself. "Why do you not get the same

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BIOPOETICS, ALSO KNOWN AS DARWINIAN LITERARY CRITICISM, SEEMS TO HAVE AS MANY VERSIONS AS PRACTITIONERS.

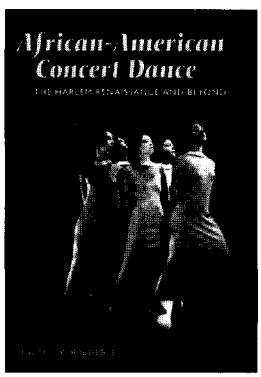
thing from just that plot that you get from the fiction?" she asks. Perhaps because the story becomes art only after Tolstoy has made it special.

WHATEVER THEIR differences, Dissanayake and evolutionary psychologists agree with Darwin that the arts are rooted in a common human nature inflected by age and gender and that the variations among the human races are trivial. "My intimate life with Sri Lankans," Dissanayake writes in *Art and Intimacy,* "made me the opposite of a fanatical cultural relativist: I have in fact become more impressed with the deeper human similarities that underlie cultural difference."

In humanities departments of late, faith in a universal human nature has been fairly beleaguered. But evolutionary psychologists believe in it with a vengeance. They assert that culture has organization, structure, and content only because individual human brains do. And they have started to make converts.

After the Temple University English professor Robert Storey realized to his chagrin that he "could apply psychoanalytic theory any way I chose," he found himself attracted to "the empirical steadiness" of evolutionary psychology. His *Mimesis and the Human Animal: On the Biogenetic Foundations of Literary Representation* (Northwestern, 1996) speculates about the emotional "biogrammars" that inform the genres of comedy and tragedy. The University of Oregon's Michelle Scalise Sugiyama says she turned to evolutionary psychology "due to my failure to be convinced by postmodernist theory." Her dissertation for the UC-Santa Barbara English department analyzed in Darwinian terms the choices faced by women in Ernest Hemingway's fiction. (Mate choice, sexual fidelity, and hunting prowess are, after all, more than a little relevant to "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber.") Ian Jobling, a graduate student in comparative literature at SUNY Buffalo, has written about the way Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* satisfies the naturally selected but currently maladaptive desire for murderous revenge. His *Ivanhoe* essay appeared in the spring 2001 issue of *Interdisciplinary Literary Studies,* which was devoted to literary biopoetics. The issue was edited by the Texas A&M Russian professor Brett Cooke, who is also responsible, with UT-Dallas's Frederick Turner, for the anthology *Biopoetics: Evolutionary Explorations in the Arts* (Paragon House, 1999).

Biopoetics, also known as Darwinian literary criticism, seems to have as many versions as practitioners. But its chief the-



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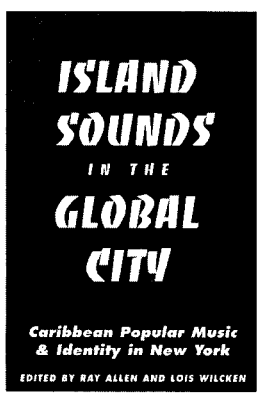

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orist may be the English professor Joseph Carroll of the University of Missouri at St. Louis. Carroll conceives of literature as "a form of knowledge" or "cognitive mapping." Aesthetic concerns, he admits, are not his primary interest. "I occasionally remind myself to go pay a little attention to the stylistic and formal aspects of literary art," he jokes, "but it always takes a little bit of an effort." What drew him to biopoetics was the prospect of a model of human nature grounded in empirical science that he could set against poststructuralism. In his 518-page *Evolution and Literary Criticism* (Missouri, 1995), Carroll argued with encyclopedic thoroughness that by the lights of evolutionary psychology, Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida do not offer intellectual frameworks for literary criticism as instructive as those of M.H. Abrams, who spread his critical attention across the artwork, the artist, the audience, and nature, or Hippolyte Taine, who followed Darwin in understanding culture as a product of biology. "Why do you study the shell, except to represent to yourself the animal?" Taine wrote. "So do you study the document only in order to know the man."

If Carroll is pope, then in the University of New Orleans's Nancy Easterlin, biopoetics may already have a doubting Thomas. "I wouldn't say that's a wrong characterization," Easterlin says cautiously. Easterlin is associate editor of *Philosophy & Literature,* which is planning to mark its twenty-fifth anniversary with an issue dedicated to evolutionary and cognitive psychology. "Do cognitive predispositions predict or determine literary values?" she asked in an essay in the *Biopoetics* anthology. Her answer: "a qualified 'no.'" The human appetite for plot appears to be a result of natural selection. But whether a work of literature satisfies or frustrates that appetite is no indication of its quality, Easterlin suggested. In the recent special issue of *Interdisciplinary Literary Studies,* she expressed her doubts even more forcibly: "We need to step back and consider for a moment whether science has any actual value for literary studies." Biology may be able to enhance speculation about literature, she argued, but will never replace it. Criticism will—and should—remain subjective. After all, she clarifies by telephone, for the most part "we still teach appreciation."

DISSANAYAKE shares some of Easterlin's skepticism about Darwinian criticism of the arts. "Is there more to it than just identifying evolutionarily relevant themes?" she asks. "I don't know." But she does believe that biopoetics might help critics to avoid dead ends like poststructuralism. "I think you will save yourself a lot of bullshit and hot air if you can always bring it back to what literature has been for and that it comes out of our nature."

Though Dissanayake the evolutionary theorist avoids making value judgments about works of art, personally she does believe that some experiences of art are richer than others. "In any tradition, there's a kind of fullness and resonance in a great work of art," she explains. "What the Darwinians are talking about, preferences, are the lowest level. It merely gets your attention." A ripe fruit may spark a viewer's appetite, but to turn an image of fruit into art, "something more has to be done with it."

When Dissanayake accompanies a reporter to Seattle's Frye Art Museum, she stops in front of a nineteenth-century oil painting by Adolf Schreyer of horses trying to escape from a burning stable. The melodramatic subject matter, with its direct solicitation of the viewer's emotions, doesn't much appeal to her. Dissanayake spends most of the visit admiring a group of egg-tempera scenes of Brooklyn painted by the contemporary artist Doug Safranek. As a medium, egg tempera demands patience, Dissanayake explains. To achieve its delicate colors, a painter has to apply coat after coat. And Safranek's fastidious draftsmanship has made his task no easier; he renders even the refuse in vacant lots in exacting detail, and he likes to set himself challenges like slush on pavement at twilight and laundry hung out to dry as seen from a bird's-eye view. It's this evidence of Safranek's care that Dissanayake seems to like and the way he has arranged his rooftop perspectives and sharply slanting clotheslines to draw the viewer in, so that you have the dizzy sense that you are about to fall into another, more carefully observed world.

Caleb Crain is the author of *American Sympathy: Men, Friendship, and Literature in the New Nation* (Yale).

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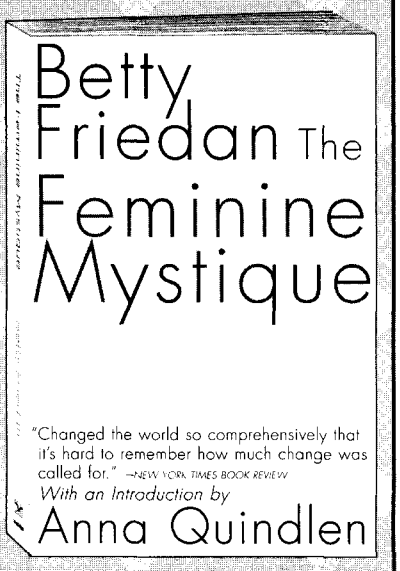
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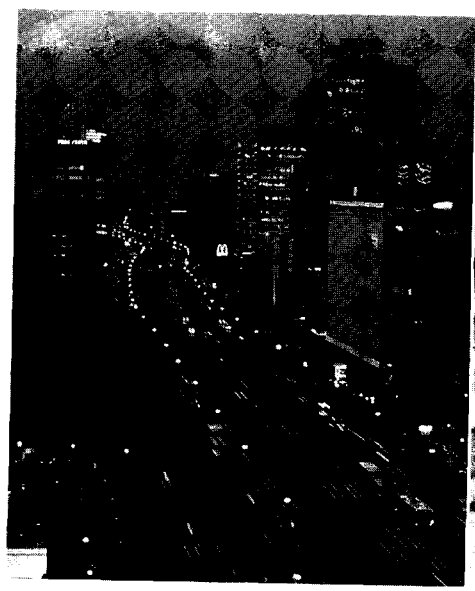

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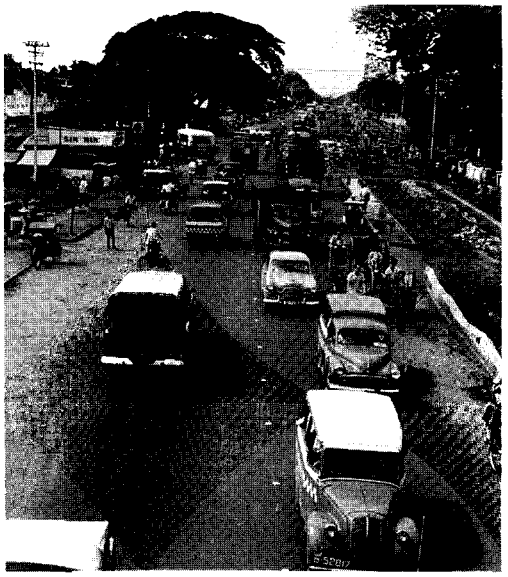

FROM LEFT: INDONESIAN PRESIDENT SUKARNO ADDRESSING A MAY DAY RALLY IN 1965; SUKARNO INSPECTING TROOPS; JAKARTA STREET SCENE, EARLY 1960s

BELOW, FROM LEFT: JAKARTA OFFICE TOWERS; MEGAWATI SUKARNOPUTRI'S FIRST DAY AS PRESIDENT, 2001; MEGAWATI AND SUPPORTERS, 1999; BENEDICT ANDERSON AT HOME, 2001

JAVA

THIRTY YEARS AFTER HE WAS BANNED FROM INDONESIA, BENEDICT ANDERSON GOES BACK TO THE COUNTRY WHERE HE MADE HIS NAME

BY **SCOTT SHERMAN**·

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IN 1972, BENEDICT O'GORMAN Anderson, a Southeast Asia specialist at Cornell University, was banned from Indonesia, where he had done his dissertation fieldwork in the early 1960s. In 1999, he returned to Jakarta for the first time in twenty-seven years to deliver what the *Times Literary Supplement* called an "eye-popping" lecture to an auditorium overflowing with power brokers and literati.

Much had changed in the intervening years. General Suharto, Indonesia's ruler since 1965, tumbled from power in 1998, a casualty of the Asian financial crisis. East Timor, after a prolonged and bloody independence struggle, broke free of Indonesian rule under the auspices of the United Nations. Fresh bursts of violence were erupting in the rebellious regions of Aceh and Irian Jaya, prompting fears that the vast Indonesian archipelago could splinter. And the entire nation was experiencing a period of democratic ferment, exemplified by the relaunch of the independent newsmagazine *Tempo,* which was banned under Suharto's New Order regime and which had invited Anderson to speak at a celebration marking its reappearance.

At a luxury hotel in downtown Jakarta, the sixty-two-year-old Anderson, wearing a light shirt and slacks to combat the stifling heat, faced a tense, expectant audience of three hundred generals, senior journalists, elderly professors, former students, and curiosity seekers. In fluent Indonesian, he lashed the political opposition for its timidity and historical amnesia—especially with regard to the massacres of 1965–1966, when the government brutally extirpated the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in what a Central Intelligence Agency report later declared "one of the worst mass murders of the twentieth century."

"I can only shake my head in disbelief," Anderson said coolly from the platform, "at the way that the 'opposition' demands that Suharto and his family be called to account for stealing so much money—perhaps they think of it as 'our' money?—and largely turn a blind eye to crimes a thousand times worse: systematic, planned murder on a scale never before seen in the history of the archipelago.

"We can see that the entire 'opposition' today," Anderson continued, "is not, fundamentally, a real opposition to the Dry-Rot Order"—a reference to Suharto's New Order but also an elaborate wordplay in Indonesian—"and that the Indonesia they wish to rebuild will, consequently, still have a mountain of skeletons buried in its cellars."

Anderson's lecture was not merely an eloquent harangue. It was also an emotional plea for a unitary Indonesia. "The modern world," he proclaimed, "has shown us sufficient examples of nations that have broken up because too many of their citizens have had shriveled hearts and dwarfish minds—to say nothing of excessive lust for domination over their fellows." Invoking the names of distinguished patriots who fought for Indonesian independence in the twilight of Dutch colonial rule, Anderson concluded: "I believe in, and hope for, a real revival of the common project which was initiated almost a hundred years ago," a project that "demands self-sacrifice, not the sacrificing of others."

It was a stormy homecoming for a man accustomed to controversy. Television stations and newspapers clamored for interviews, and *Tempo* reprinted Anderson's remarks for its middle-class readership. Since the speech, Anderson's visibility in Indonesia has soared: He contributes pungent essays, with titles like "Suharto's Gulag," to the Indonesian press; his books, proscribed by the New Order, are appearing in fresh editions; and a new generation is excavating the work of a scholar whose aura always had much to do with his status as persona non grata.

In the United States, Anderson is best known for his classic 1983 book, *Imagined Communities* (Verso), an innovative and celebratory essay on nationalism. With Indonesia at a crossroads, beset by political uncertainty and insurgent separatism, his speech in Jakarta was a calculated attempt to put the ideas of *Imagined Communities* into concrete practice—to affirm the "grand idea" of Indonesia and to urge Indonesians to "to participate voluntarily, enthusiastically, equally, and without fear in the common project of Indonesian nationalism." But the project can only succeed, Anderson insisted, if its participants resist militarism and ethnic chauvinism and if the Indonesian government accepts some degree of regional autonomy and federalization. The time has come, in other words, for Indonesian politicians and intellectuals to reimagine their community, without burying its past.

For Anderson, the stakes are high. Indonesia is much more than an academic specialty: He says he often thinks in Indonesian rather than in English, and he speaks the language constantly in his home. He writes about the country with considerable intimacy. The 1965–1966 slaughter came as a stunning blow to him. He once wrote that it "felt like discovering that a loved one is a murderer." And it left him with a haunting emotional question: "How still to love a murderer?" It's a question that has animated Anderson's work, and his life, for thirty-five years.

IN NOVEMBER 1956, as a student at Cambridge University, Anderson noticed a cluster of dark-skinned students, Pakistani or Indian, demonstrating against Prime Minister Anthony Eden's decision to invade Suez. Suddenly, out of nowhere, a band of upper-class English students, singing "God Save the Queen," assaulted the crowd. "The scene seemed incomprehensible, and I feebly tried to get the educated louts to stop," Anderson has written. "My spectacles were smacked off my face, and so, by chance, I joined the column of the assaulted." Shortly thereafter he left Cambridge for Cornell to begin a forty-year career studying Indonesia.

The confrontation at Cambridge, his first direct encounter with nationalism, aroused his interest in Asia. But the connections were already there: His grandfather had been a cryptographer for the British imperial army in South Asia. Anderson's father, James, spent almost three decades crisscrossing China as an employee of the Chinese Maritime Customs, a Western-dominated consortium whose main purpose was tax collection. Benedict was born in Kunming in 1936, but Japanese encroachment, and the coming war, brought the family to California in 1942. In 1945, the family relocated to Ireland, where Benedict spent much of his youth. James Anderson, who died in 1946, was of mixed Anglo and Anglo-Irish origins; indeed, the O'Gorman side of the family had been active in Irish nationalist politics ever since the United Irishmen's rebellion of 1798. "Because of all this," Anderson says, "though I was educated in England from the age of eleven, it was difficult to imagine myself English."

Anderson's detour into Indonesian studies was largely accidental. At loose ends after graduating from Cambridge, he received a letter from a high school

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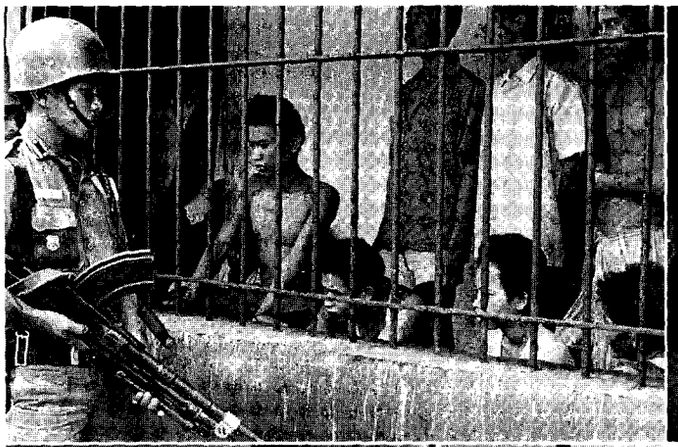

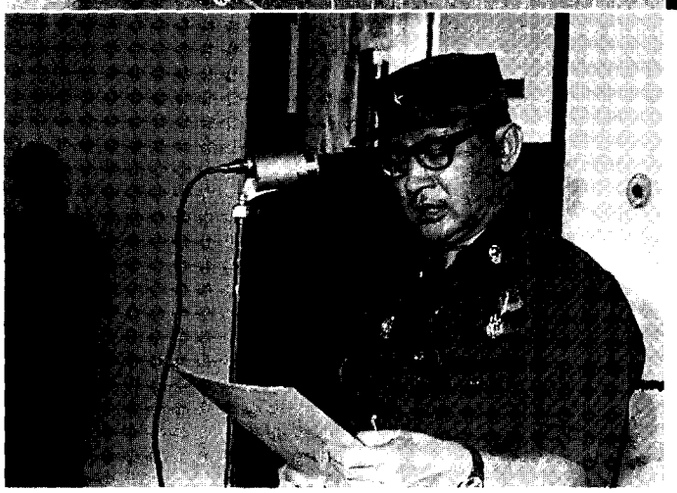

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: SUSPECTED COMMUNISTS, 1965; AN ACCUSED COUP SYMPATHIZER IS QUESTIONED AT GUNPOINT, 1965; GENERAL SUHARTO IN 1966

INDONESIA HAS "A MOUNTAIN OF SKELETONS BURIED IN ITS CELLARS," SAYS ANDERSON. ITS LEADERS MUST RECKON WITH THE 1965–1966 MASSACRES THAT SOIL THE COUNTRY'S PAST.

classmate who was studying politics at Cornell. The department needed a teaching assistant—might Anderson be interested? Before arriving in Ithaca in 1958, Anderson learned that Cornell had America's largest and most distinguished Southeast Asian studies program. It was headed by George Kahin, whose 1952 book, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia,* had established him as the country's foremost authority on Indonesia. Hounded during the McCarthy years, Kahin was nonetheless one of the first scholars, in the early 1960s, to oppose the Vietnam War. From him, Anderson learned "the inseparability of politics and scholarship."

Another formative influence at Cornell was Claire Holt. Descended from a wealthy Jewish family in Latvia, she had been a dancer and dance journalist in Paris before arriving in Java in the 1930s. Holt had no academic credentials, but because she possessed encyclopedic knowledge of Indonesian language and culture, in the 1950s Kahin brought her to Cornell to teach. It was Holt who introduced Anderson to the contours and complexity of "traditional Javanese culture"—magic, bandit legends, gamelan music—that greatly influenced his early work. Notably, in his pathbreaking 1972 essay "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture," Anderson compared the Western tendency to perceive power as embedded in social relationships with the Javanese tendency to locate power externally, as a force to be harnessed through means such as magic, sexual prowess, and masking.

Under the guidance of Holt and Kahin, Anderson went to Jakarta in 1961 to research his dissertation, which was eventually published as *Java in a Time of Revolution* (Cornell, 1972). The early 1960s marked the twilight of President Sukarno's "Guided Democracy"—which Anderson later described as "populist-authoritarian, conservative-radical"—and for an indefatigable graduate student, it was a blissful time to be in Indonesia. Foreigners were scarce; the political elite was remarkably accessible. The presidential palace regularly hosted shadow plays—elaborate puppet shows set to gamelan music—and President Sukarno himself was often there, surrounded by a plethora of diplomats, students, and onlookers. Anderson recalls: "One could stretch out on a flea-infested mat along with everyone else, get one's plate of cold rice and curry and a glass of warm tea, and watch the whole night through."

When Anderson wasn't studying Indonesian and Javanese, he was plundering the archives for documents on the Indonesian revolution of 1945–1949; wandering through the old royal palaces of Java, most of which were decrepit but still accessible; and taking motorcycle excursions through the small villages of the interior. He even took up the *gendér,* a two-handed Javanese instrument consisting of bronze plates suspended over bamboo tubes of different lengths, which he studied under the direction of one of Java's most distinguished musicians. (Anderson has been equally industrious with regard to languages: He would eventually learn to speak Indonesian, Javanese, Tagalog, and Thai, and to read Spanish, Dutch, German, Russian, and French.)

But storm clouds were gathering throughout the early 1960s. Runaway

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inflation and a burgeoning U.S. presence in Vietnam contributed to an increasingly volatile political atmosphere. At its center, Sukarno, the mercurial left-wing nationalist, was engaged in a delicate balancing act between the PKI—the third-largest communist party outside the socialist bloc, with three million members—and the powerful military. The PKI, with its parliamentary orientation, resembled the Italian Communist Party more than the Russian, but its growing strength, particularly in rural areas, made the military jittery. Anderson claims today that his feelings about the PKI at that time were mixed: He admired its incorruptibility, its nationalism, and its opposition to the Vietnam War. "Would it be so bad if the PKI came to power?" he mused in a letter to fellow Indonesianist Daniel Lev. But he also had his doubts: Why, he wondered, did PKI rallies feature anti-Western songs composed under the brutally repressive—and anticommunist—Japanese occupation regime of 1942–1945? In any case, darkness was approaching, and Anderson returned to Ithaca in 1964 with a strong sense that "the Indonesia I had known and loved was gone forever."

ANDERSON'S foreboding proved prescient. October 1, 1965, witnessed what appeared to be a coup d'état by disgruntled military officers in Jakarta and the surrounding provinces. Six government generals were murdered, their bodies tossed down a well. President Sukarno was briefly detained, then released. Government military forces led by Major General Suharto quickly regained control of the situation and blamed the coup attempt on the PKI. Sukarno was essentially relieved of his presidential duties; a broken man, he died in 1970.

A stream of propaganda—to the effect that the generals had had their eyes gouged out and their genitals mutilated by female PKI cadres—saturated the media. Two weeks later, what Anderson refers to as "the catastrophe" began: The military destroyed the PKI in a series of massacres that claimed somewhere between 600,000 and 1 million lives from October 1965 to January 1966. According to a declassified 1968 CIA study, *Indonesia—1965: The Coup That Backfired,* "In terms of the numbers killed, the anti-PKI massacres in Indonesia rank as one of the worst mass murders of the twentieth century, along with the Soviet purges of the 1930s, the Nazi mass murders during the Second World War, and the Maoist bloodbath of the early 1950s."

The Indonesian military insisted that the PKI was the sole *dalang* (puppet master) behind the coup, but Anderson and others in Ithaca were skeptical. So in January 1966, Anderson and two colleagues, Ruth McVey and Frederick Bunnell, produced their own account of the coup attempt. The team relied on a vast cache of provincial Indonesian newspapers owned by the Library of Congress but stored at Cornell, as well as classified Foreign Broadcast Information Service documents also stored at Cornell. The result of their research was a 162-page report that soon became internationally known as the Cornell Paper.

The Cornell Paper insisted that the coup attempt was not a communist power grab but an "internal army affair" spearheaded by colonels from the province of Central Java. The authors admitted that some low-level PKI members participated but insisted that they were duped into it by the military. "The PKI had been doing very well by the peaceful road," the paper argued. "To undertake violence would have involved pitting itself against a vastly superior military force and might have thrown the President into alliance with the army"—a consequence that would have been "fatal to communist hopes."

Initially the authors quietly distributed the Cornell Paper to only a handful of academics. Since the massacres were still happening, Anderson and his co-authors remained anonymous, lest their work jeopardize the safety of friends and colleagues in Indonesia. But Cornell's Kahin sent a copy to William Bundy, assistant secretary of state for Far Eastern affairs, and arranged for McVey to talk to the syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft. The paper was soon transmitted, by an unknown source, to the military authorities in Jakarta, and Kraft devoted a column to the issue. Controversy erupted. In his 1969 book, *The Communist Collapse in Indonesia,* the conservative journalist Arnold Brackman furiously assaulted the Cornell Paper: "Why did the Paper's authors rush to absolve the PKI and Sukarno in terms of scholarship when their motivation may have been ideological?" he fumed.

Anderson's name would not be attached to the Cornell Paper until 1971, but when he returned to Indonesia in 1967, he was already the object of suspicion. A U.S. embassy document from that year said Anderson was "regarded...as an outright Communist or at least a fellow-traveler." Still, Anderson was permitted to move freely within Indonesia, and in so doing, he discovered that certain leftists he knew in the early 1960s had vanished during the massacres. He was also allowed to attend the trial at which Sudisman, general secretary of the Indonesian Communist Party, was sentenced to death.

Of the PKI's top five leaders, Sudisman was the only one who was tried; the other four were summarily shot. Only two foreigners were continuously present in the courtroom: Anderson and Herbert Feith, an Australian colleague. The proceedings left a deep impression on both of them. Many PKI witnesses had broken under torture and were obsequious at the feet of the military judges. Amid the interminable parade of communist witnesses, only two, Anderson recalls, talked back in the courtroom and refused to incriminate their comrades. One was an old woman who subsequently went mad; the other, says Anderson, "was this little Chinese kid who looked nineteen or twenty. Very calmly, and with great dignity, he gave his testimony. I was so impressed by it." Anderson pauses at the memory. "When you see all these top communists groveling before the judge—*what gave that kid the courage to do this?*"

Sudisman, too, kept his composure when he addressed the court. Anderson recalls, "Sudisman was so dignified, so calm, and his speech was so great, that I felt a kind of moral obligation" to do something. "As Sudisman was leaving the courtroom for the last time," Anderson remembers, "he looked at me and Herb. He didn't say anything, but I had such a strong feeling that he was thinking: 'You have to help us. Probably you two are the only ones I can trust to make sure that what I said will survive.' It was like an appeal from a dying man." Anderson answered that appeal in 1975, when he translated Sudisman's speech into English from a smuggled copy of the court transcript. A radical printing collective in Australia published it as a twenty-eight-

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CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: EAST TIMORESE REFUGEE CAMP, 2000; MUSLIM PROTESTERS IN JAKARTA, 1999; POLICE OFFICER DRAGS ANTI-SUHARTO PROTESTER, 2000

A CHINESE YOUTH TESTIFIED WITH CALM DEFIANCE AT THE SHOW TRIAL OF A TOP COMMUNIST. "WHAT GAVE THAT KID THE COURAGE TO DO THIS?" ANDERSON STILL WONDERS.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: REUTERS NEW MEDIA INC./CORBIS; AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS (2)

page orange pamphlet titled "Analysis of Responsibility," with an admiring introduction by Anderson.

And yet the deeper Anderson immersed himself in Indonesia's internal turmoil, the closer the end of his time there drew. After the Cornell Paper was officially published as "A Preliminary Analysis of the October 1, 1965, Coup in Indonesia" in 1971, Anderson still managed to visit Indonesia in early 1972. But once there, he found himself under attack in the Jakarta press. The weekly magazine *Chas,* which reportedly had connections to the intelligence services, published a front-page article under the headline CORNELL SCHOLARS: USEFUL IDIOTS. Shortly thereafter, Anderson was questioned by the police and ordered to remain in the capital. Meanwhile, *Chas* kept up the barrage with cover headlines like PRO-PKI POLITICAL GUERRILLAS EXPLOIT ACADEMIC WORK! THE CORNELL PAPER PROVED TO FALSIFY HISTORY!

In April 1972, Anderson was expelled from the country. On his return to Ithaca, he learned indirectly that he would be blacklisted from Indonesia until he publicly repudiated the Cornell Paper. It was the beginning of an exile that would endure for the better part of three decades.

HOW HAS the Cornell Paper stood the test of time? In the absence of documentary evidence from archives in Washington, London, and, most important, Jakarta, it is impossible to confirm or disprove its arguments. Still, in academic circles, the document has anchored a long-standing scholarly feud about the still-murky origins of the 1965 coup. And in Indonesia itself, the Cornell Paper never lost its popularity: The document circulated like samizdat among activists and intellectuals throughout the New Order period.

In the official army version, PKI agents manipulated dissident army officers into taking action against the military hierarchy. Some prominent scholars have reached a similar conclusion. In his 1978 book, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia* (Cornell), Harold Crouch, who teaches at the Australian National University, surveyed the various theories of the coup attempt, and concluded that PKI leaders did indeed spearhead an uprising in collaboration with left-leaning military officers. "I do agree with Harold Crouch, and so do most PKI people I have talked to," Herbert Feith of the University of Melbourne comments by e-mail. But other scholars remain skeptical. Anderson's old friend Daniel Lev, who is retired from the University of Washington, accepts "the possibility" of high-level PKI involvement but insists that without new archival material "the Cornell Paper, even now, is still the most basic analysis of what happened."

For his part, Anderson still defends the main thrust of the Cornell Paper—that an intramilitary dispute triggered the coup attempt—and he still gets emotional about the liquidation of the PKI. But after decades of reflection, he has arrived at a clear-eyed perspective on the missteps of Indonesia's communists. In the years leading up to 1965, he notes ruefully, the PKI was almost completely unarmed, but it embraced the rhetoric of Maoism. "That was a huge mistake," Anderson declares. "It created fear and anxiety about the Communist

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Party. It wasn't a guerrilla army. That's why they were massacred; they were all out in the open."

Some Indonesia scholars believe that the CIA had links to Suharto at the time of the coup attempt. But Anderson still places the burden for the bloodbath squarely on the shoulders of the military in general and Suharto in particular. "What was missing from the Cornell Paper," says Anderson, "was the sense that the whole thing was manipulated from the top by Suharto, which I think is probably what really happened." If General Suharto was, in fact, the puppet master, what was his intention? Anderson replies: "The destruction of the Communist Party and the removal of Sukarno."

UNABLE TO return to Indonesia, Anderson spent 1974 in Bangkok. "It was a wonderful time to be there," he recalls. A heady interlude between dictatorships allowed Thai radicalism to flower. But the good times ground to a halt in 1976, when the military overthrew the civilian regime and publicly shot and hanged student radicals in downtown Bangkok. Some young activists eventually found their way to Cornell, where, under Anderson's supervision, they sifted through the wreckage of Thai radicalism in a series of melancholy, innovative dissertations.

Throughout this period, Indonesia was never far from Anderson's mind. He became America's leading critic of the Suharto government in the 1970s, testifying frequently before Congress against U.S. military aid to what he called a "corrupt, dictatorial and aggressive military regime." In 1980, Anderson took direct aim at the U.S. foreign-policy elite, including the ambassador to Indonesia, Edward Masters: "In my judgment," Anderson said, "the Kissinger-Holbrooke-Oakley-Masters group has deliberately sacrificed the welfare of the East Timorese people, and even contributed directly to the catastrophe that has taken place on that island."

Not all of Anderson's colleagues shared his dark view of the Indonesian government. "Ben was never able to accept Suharto or his New Order in part because the new regime represented the triumph of the worst antiegalitarian forces in the society," says William Liddle, an Indonesia expert at Ohio State University who, like Anderson, writes regularly for the Indonesian-language press, albeit from a different political perspective. Liddle's early writings on the New Order were critical of Suharto from a liberal democratic perspective. "But starting in the late 1970s," he explains, "I increasingly saw the New Order's economic policies as laying the foundation for long-term democratization through an expanded middle class, a more educated population, and a lessened role for religion, especially fundamentalist religion, in political life. My views are rooted in the modernization theory of the 1950s in which I was trained—and confirmed, I believe, by the subsequent experiences of countries like South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand. Ben's roots are more Marxian."

Anderson's long absence from Indonesia left him open to the charge that he had fallen out of touch with the country's politics. Nonetheless, observes Feith, his long-standing intimacy with the language and culture rendered him a force to be reckoned with. "Anderson is certainly a central figure among Indonesianists," Feith remarks, "outshining everyone else at least in his generation, with the possible exceptions of Clifford Geertz and Ruth McVey."

FREEVILLE, New York, sits eight miles east of Ithaca. Anderson lives in a spacious old farmhouse surrounded by rolling hills, grazing cattle, and a barn topped by a Javanese-style weather vane. A young Indonesian friend, along with his wife and two small children, occupies a cottage on the property; Anderson dines with them almost every night, and they look after the place when he's away. In nice weather, Anderson likes to shuffle around his garden, shears in hand. He cultivates the flowers he knew in Ireland as a boy: yellow irises, fuchsias, poppies, mock oranges, lupines. Directly across the street are another forty acres he also owns: Some years ago, the old man who lived there sold it to him at a cut rate, with the request that the land be shielded from commercial encroachment.

On a breezy summer morning, Anderson's kitchen overflows with unruly stacks of books, journals, Asian newspapers, and doctoral theses. A portrait of the youthful Sukarno adorns one wall, a doleful relic in light of his ultimate fate. "Indonesia was really like another home for me," Anderson says. "Being kicked out was very painful." In the years after his banishment, he frequently discussed his work with his brother Perry, a distinguished historian and the author of the sweeping survey *Lineages of the Absolutist State,* among other books. Perry urged him to adopt a comparative perspective beyond Indonesia, and his stay in Thailand allowed him to do that. "Being in Thailand forced me to think all the time about if I had to write about Thailand and Indonesia in one space, how would I do it?" Anderson says. In that sense, his banishment from Indonesia was not entirely without benefit. "Probably I wouldn't have done *Imagined Communities* if Suharto hadn't given me this tremendous helping hand," he says with a sly grin.

The roots of *Imagined Communities* lie in what Anderson, in the late 1970s, saw as "a fundamental transformation in the history of Marxism and Marxist movements": the wars between Vietnam, Cambodia, and China in 1978–1979. Far from presenting a unified front against Western imperialism and capitalism, those regimes—whose "independence and revolutionary credentials are undeniable," Anderson noted—were engaged in undisguised fratricide. And so Anderson undertook a full-scale study of nationalism, a force whose power and complexity were not explained by the Marxist theory in which he'd been schooled. As Anderson notes, even one of nationalism's strongest scholarly proponents, the British Marxist Tom Nairn, writes that "'Nationalism' is the pathology of modern developmental history, as inescapable as 'neurosis' in the individual...with...a similar built-in capacity for descent into dementia."

For Anderson, nationalism was neither a pathology nor a fixed, immutable force. Rather, he wrote, "it is an imagined political community...because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion." For centuries, the world was organized into empires governed by supposed divine right. Within them, liturgical languages, spoken only by the elite, were the medium of culture and of communion with the sacred. Nationalism emerged as speakers of vernacular languages came to reject this organization of society, discovering instead their horizontal ties with one another and conceiving of themselves as citizens rather than

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as subjects. Nothing was so crucial to this transformation as the rise of what Anderson calls print capitalism: the publishing industry, which produced books, newspapers, and other media in vernacular tongues. Through these media, readers could imagine that they belonged to a shared community.

Such observations flowed naturally from Anderson's work on Indonesia's independence struggle of the 1940s: He saw how a skilled nationalist intelligentsia, based in Jakarta, had summoned not only a nation called Indonesia but also a new language, Indonesian, which became the language of resistance to Dutch colonial rule. Indeed, anticolonialism provided a crucial context for Anderson. Rejecting the view that nationalism first emerged in western Europe, he argued that it originated in early-nineteenth-century Latin America and was then adopted by the European nation-states.

One of the most striking aspects of *Imagined Communities* is Anderson's upbeat view of nationalism. "It is useful to remind ourselves," he wrote, "that nations inspire love, and often profoundly self-sacrificing love." He rejected the identification of nationalism with racism, arguing that "from the start the nation was conceived in language, not in blood," and that its boundaries are potentially plastic: "Nationalism thinks in terms of historical destinies," he wrote, whereas racism "dreams of eternal contaminations." In a recent interview in the *Kyoto Journal*, Anderson argues that "in the U.S., if people didn't believe in America, they'd be shooting each other out of pickup trucks in five minutes flat. [Nationalism is] a kind of glue that makes people, on the whole, obey the law and respect each other, in very large communities. We're talking about hundreds of millions of people. It's hard to think of anything else on the horizon that can enforce that kind of everyday decent behavior."

Of course, in the name of the nation, people also exclude, persecute, and even kill those considered outsiders to the national community. But to Anderson, such virulence is best seen as a perversion of a basically positive force. Nationalism, he remarks, "can be exploited and abused by people who have other things mainly on their minds, like imperialism, monopolies, police states, racism, and so on." Still, in his recent collection, *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the World* (Verso), Anderson concedes: "My long attachment to, and interest in, anticolonial nationalism had occluded from my vision its menacing potentialities once it got married to the state."

BENEDICT ANDERSON OUTSIDE HIS FARMHOUSE IN FREEVILLE, NEW YORK

"IT IS USEFUL TO REMIND OURSELVES," WROTE ANDERSON IN 'IMAGINED COMMUNITIES,' "THAT NATIONS INSPIRE LOVE, AND OFTEN PROFOUNDLY SELF-SACRIFICING LOVE."

Translated into twenty-one languages and bearing a title that has become common coin across academic disciplines, *Imagined Communities* is cited in virtually every contemporary work on nationalism. For the foremost scholars in that field, Anderson's is a work to be revered and contested—sometimes simultaneously. Anthony D. Smith, a professor of ethnicity and nationalism at the London School of Economics, cautions that Anderson draws too sharp a distinction between religious and national communities; many modern nationalisms, Smith points out, are religiously based. But it is Liah Greenfeld of Boston University who, in a forthcoming essay for *Critical Review*, takes sharpest aim at *Imagined Communities*. Anderson, she writes, "did not ask why suddenly large-scale communities were imagined as *nations*—rather than as classes or churches, for instance, which was more in line with earlier imaginations." Like other critics, Greenfeld questions Anderson's assertion that Latin America was the birthplace of nationalism, pointing to "the substantial recent historical scholarship discussing its earlier presence...in...Britain and France." She concludes, "One can go on and on listing the instances in which 'the spectre of comparisons' *fails* to haunt Anderson: the amount of available empirical counterevidence—to his general argument as well as specific statements—is staggering."

Nonetheless, with *Imagined Communities*, Anderson had laid the corner-

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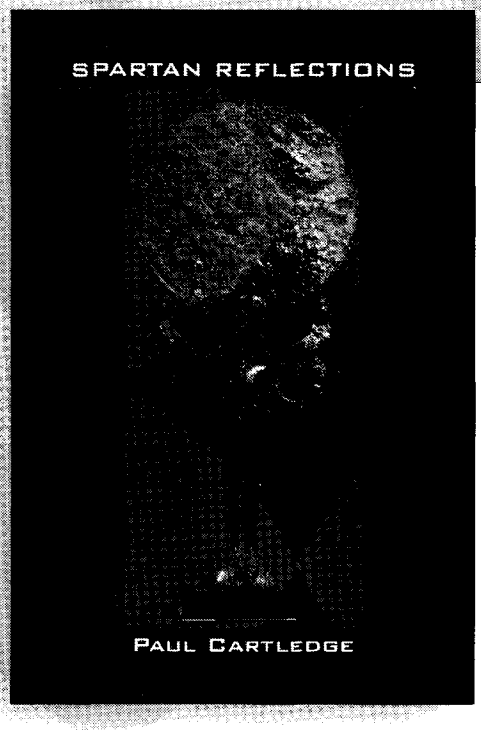

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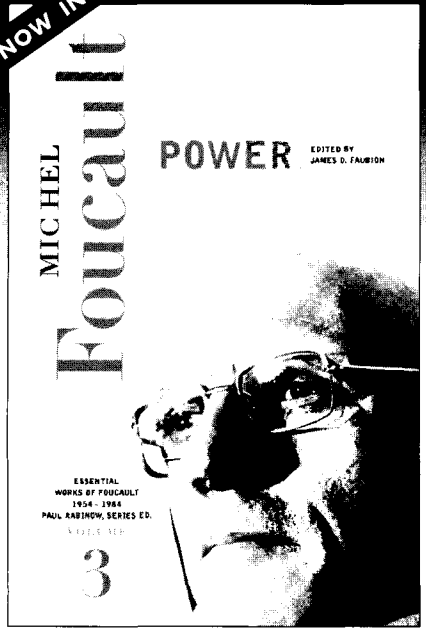

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stone for a new discipline. And as Feith observes, with more than a little admiration, "What is distinctive about Anderson's scholarship is not judiciousness; it is adventurousness and originality."

SUHARTO finally fell from power in May 1998. At last, Anderson could return to Indonesia. But when he did so, it was without fanfare, in part because he thought he might be turned away.

That had happened before. In 1981, Anderson received a visa from the Indonesian embassy in Washington. But when he arrived at the airport in Jakarta, he was detained and quickly expelled. It was, he believes, a malicious trick by the Suharto regime, because the intelligence officials laughed at him as they put him back on the plane. "When the plane took off for Bangkok," Anderson recalls, "I suddenly felt this agonizing pain all over my body. It was so bad that for most of the flight I had to lie on the floor of the cabin, to the astonishment of the passengers and stewardesses. I knew that nothing was really wrong with me; this was the way my disappointment and anger vented itself on my body. That was a lesson to me."

So, in December 1998, when he returned to Indonesia for the first time in twenty-six years, he avoided Jakarta entirely and spent ten quiet days in the provinces with old friends. "I wanted to make sure I was on solid emotional ground," he explains. He was, and a few weeks later he accepted the invitation to speak at the *Tempo* celebrations in the capital.

Anderson's speech was a call not only to unearth the skeletons of 1965–1966 but to preserve a nation that, comprising seventeen thousand islands, forms one of the world's largest "imagined communities." In a veiled reference to Indonesia's dominant ethnic group, the Javanese, Anderson cautioned that one should beware of "those who talk a lot about 'our splendid ancestors'"; after all, nationalism is properly a "common project for the present and the future." He thundered, "I see too many Indonesians still inclined to think of Indonesia as 'an inheritance,' not as a challenge nor as a common project." The breakaway efforts in Aceh and Irian Jaya, he reminded the audience, have little to do with ancient hatreds and much to do with neocolonialism, corruption, and brutality emanating from Jakarta. The proper response to separatist movements, therefore, is genuine and full autonomy within a federal structure, along the lines of Brazil or India—something the Indonesian military has long resisted.

"I am sure there will be people in Jakarta who will shout, knee-jerk fashion, that a federal Indonesia was/is a Dutch colonial project—despite the fact that the Dutch have had no significant role in Indonesia for close to half a century," he stated. "Others will say federalism is a foreign-inspired scheme to dismember the unitary republic. Who are the foreigners who would have any interest in this dismemberment in the present post–cold war world? I can think of none." He continued: "I have no doubt that if these changes occur quickly and genuinely, separatist movements will lose their steam...and the Acehnese and Irianese will once again be invited seriously back into the common project and the deep horizontal comradeship from which they should never have been excluded."

"WHAT IS DISTINCTIVE ABOUT ANDERSON'S SCHOLARSHIP IS NOT JUDICIOUSNESS; IT IS ADVENTUROUSNESS AND ORIGINALITY," SAYS HERBERT FEITH.

The speech ended with a rumination on the notion of shame—without which, Anderson argued, the "common project" will be severely diminished: "I think that no one can be a true nationalist who is incapable of feeling ashamed if her state or government commits crimes, including those against her fellow citizens." He used his adopted country as an example. "During the Vietnam war," said Anderson, "a good part of the popular opposition came from just this good sense of shame among the American citizenry that 'their government' was responsible for the violent deaths of three million people in Indochina.... So they went to work in protest, not merely as advocates of universal human rights, but as Americans who loved the common American project. This kind of political shame is very good and always needed." He concluded: "If this sense of shame can develop healthily in Indonesia, Indonesians will have the courage to face the horrors of the Dry-Rot era, not as 'someone else's doing,' but as a common burden."

The speech was an ambitious effort to bury the legacy of General Suharto (whose party, Golkar, is still a dominant political force) and to reaffirm the ideals of the doomed president Sukarno: internationalism, nationalism, democracy, and social welfare. (Anderson is ambivalent about Sukarno's daughter, Megawati, who recently took over the presidency after a protracted constitutional struggle, but he has a wait-and-see attitude: "I'm not optimistic, but I don't think there's any point in saying, too loudly or too often, that she's bound to be hopeless.")

Anderson's remarks elicited a wide range of commentary. Indonesia's foremost novelist, Pramoedya Ananta Toer—who was imprisoned for fourteen years during the New Order and is now a perennial candidate for the Nobel Prize in literature—expressed pleasure with the speech. But others were less enthusiastic. "It was full of Andersonian originality and disturbing challenges to the Indonesians in the audience, most of whom had prospered during the New Order," says Harold Crouch, who was present at the speech. "But I felt that some of his comments were a bit gratuitous, with a touch of self-righteousness. It is a lot easier for foreigners living abroad to take the moral high ground while his audience had to make a living for themselves and their families during the thirty-odd years of the New Order." Says Crouch: "Not everyone is willing to be a martyr."

ANDERSON just retired from Cornell, but his schedule remains frenetic. A collection he edited, *Violence and the State in Suharto's Indonesia* (Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications), has just appeared, and his calendar is

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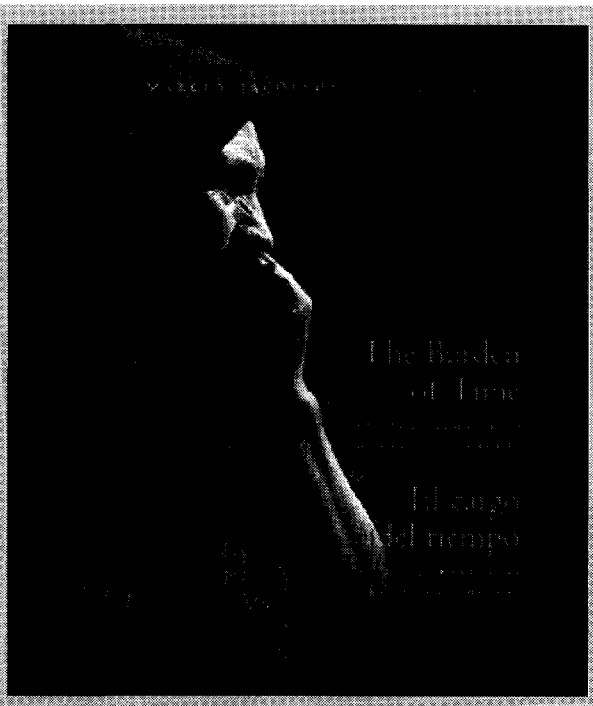

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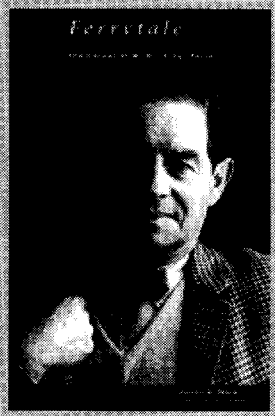

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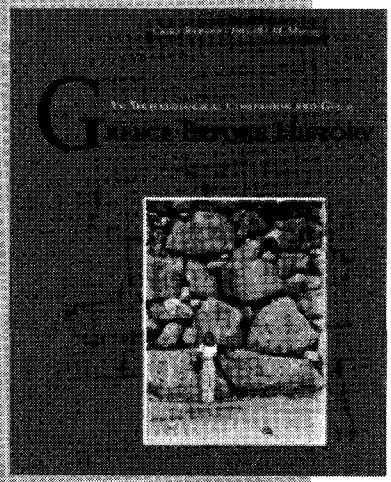

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packed with speaking engagements and writing deadlines. These days, however, he spends much of his time in Thailand, which he uses as a springboard for periodic visits to Indonesia. He's not in perfect health, and he relishes the tranquillity of Bangkok, where he owns an apartment in a lower-middle-class neighborhood, one filled with "small-businesspeople, schoolteachers, mistresses of policemen, this sort of thing." His high visibility in Indonesia makes it difficult for him to be productive there. "Indonesia is emotionally very stressful, even now, for me," he explains. "I hate to see how miserable everything is. I can't imagine how I could possibly get any peace or quiet there. The bliss of Thailand is that I'm largely invisible."

On his trips to Indonesia, he still endeavors to unravel the mysteries of 1965–1966. Lately he's been interviewing ex-prisoners who served in the Indonesian air force, whose role in the coup attempt has always been contested. He has also been conducting interviews with PKI veterans, most of whom served long prison sentences and are now old men. They are a suspicious bunch, leery of foreigners, but they have heard of Anderson, and they respect him and therefore submit to his questions. "I'm interested in their life histories," Anderson explains. "I ask them: What do you think it meant to be a communist? What regrets do you have? How do you look back on all this? It's a kind of history of the left. I'm not going to write that history, but at least the material will be on the record."

His Indonesia is full of ghosts. In 1999, he attended a meeting of an organization called Pakorba, which stands for "Association of Victims of the New Order." The gathering was held in central Jakarta, in a nondescript building owned by the Ministry of Manpower. Anderson recalls: "It was an incredibly overwhelming experience. It was packed with elderly men and women. Everyone turned to look: Who is this white guy? I just took my seat. Clearly some people in the audience recognized me; a buzz went around the room." People started to come up to him. "'Are you Ben Anderson?' Finally I was pushed onto the stage to say a few words." Many others spoke as well. "It was very emotional, because these people got up and, as if they were in a Quaker meeting, talked about their lives and experiences. Toward the end, something absolutely astounding happened."

He was approached by a handsome, dignified Chinese man, who looked to be about fifty and who said: "I want to thank you for what you wrote about me." Anderson had no idea who he was. "You wrote about me after the Sudisman trial," the man answered. Before him, Anderson suddenly realized, was the Chinese kid who talked back to the judge in 1967. Anderson was dumbfounded: "*You were...*" "Yeah, that's me," the man replied.

They spent a day together, and Anderson listened to the man's story. He explains, "Many of the communists, when they were trying to escape the sweeps on them, fled into the Chinese ghettos, partly because the Chinese are much more closemouthed than the Indonesians are, partly because these ghettos are accustomed to a certain level of clandestinity. And this kid, who was a radical kid, was somehow recruited by Sudisman to be his personal courier in terms of contacting other people who were hiding underground. Sudisman was the last surviving top communist who hadn't been executed or murdered by the regime."

In the period leading up to the trial, the man explained to Anderson, he was tortured in prison. Before his testimony, he was instructed by his interrogators to follow their directives in the courtroom, or else pay a high price afterward. But he defied them and spoke his mind before the judge.

"The strange thing," Anderson says, "is that when he came out of the courtroom, two of the guards clapped him on the shoulder. A strange part of the culture of these guys is that when they see courage, even if you're an enemy, they respect it. After that he wasn't tortured anymore, though he spent years and years in prison."

Remembering their encounter at the Pakorba meeting, Anderson pauses. "It was like somebody came out of a grave," he recalls with astonishment. "I never thought this guy was alive." Anderson is extremely reserved, but he confesses in a soft voice, almost a whisper: "We looked at each other and just jumped into each other's arms. I just felt like crying."

Scott Sherman is a contributing writer to *LF*. His chronicle of Mexico's student strike, "Left Out," appeared in the July/August 2000 issue.

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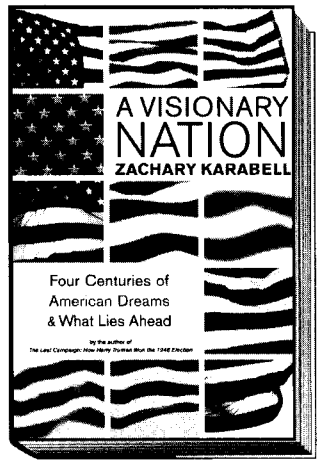

ISBN 0-380-97857-1 hc / $26.00 ($39.50 Can.) 256pp.

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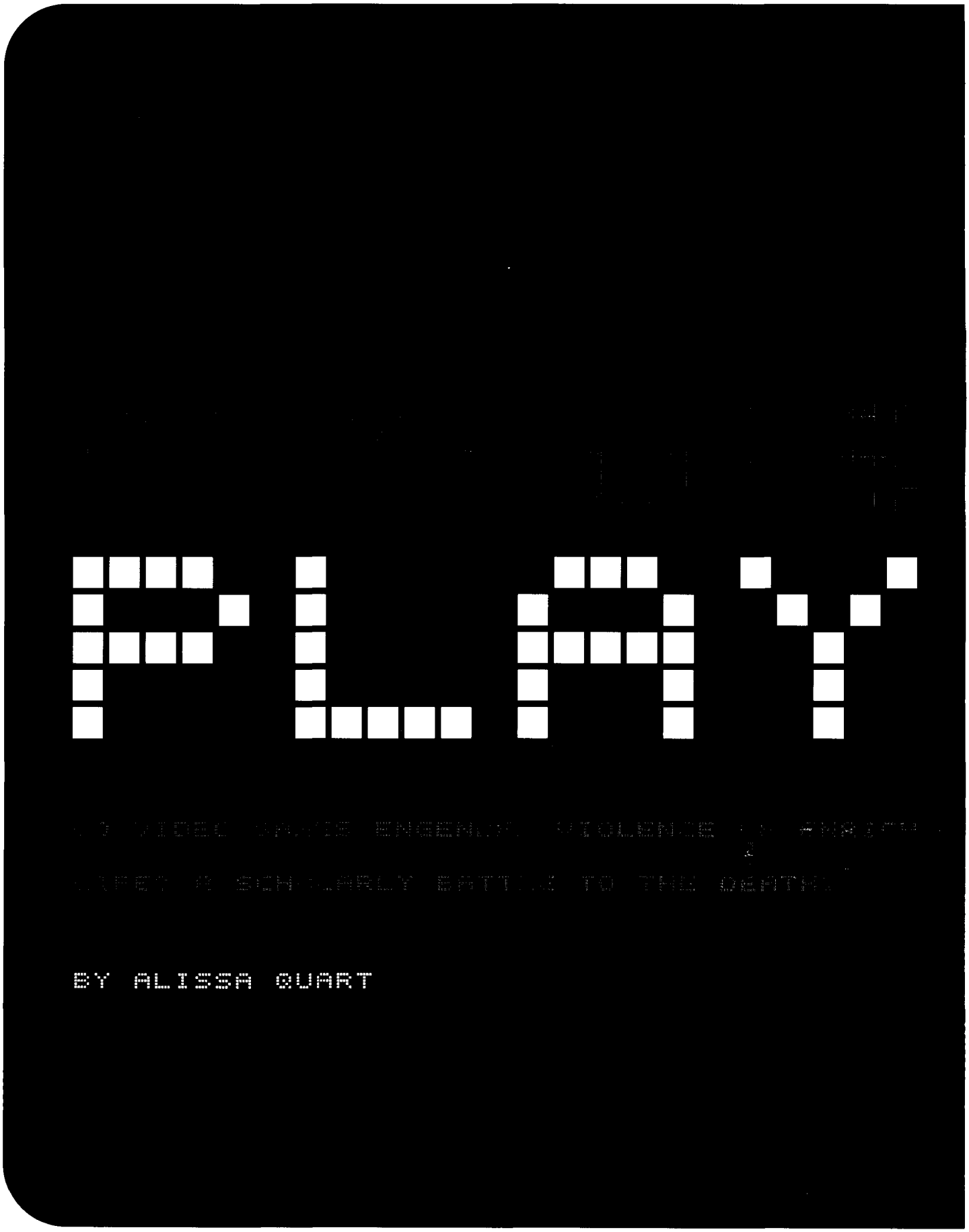

BY ALISSA QUART

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EIGHT WARRIORS ARE COMPETING IN A BLOODTHIRSTY TOURNAMENT, PERHAPS the most vicious martial arts competition of all time. You are one of the warriors. You rip out your opponents' still-beating hearts. You tear out their spines. You skewer victims so they twitch and shake. At one point, you even stomp the ultimate opponent, yourself, to annihilation.

Don't worry: It's just a video game. For those of you who only play games of love or departmental politics, this one is known as Mortal Kombat—MK to fans. Most of those fans are teenagers. But it's thanks to them that academics have been talking, sometimes heatedly, about games like MK. Does on-screen combat foster aggression or simply provide it a safe release valve? Are teenagers vulnerable prey or canny consumers? Does the First Amendment protect the marketing of violence to minors? Such questions are not only ivory-tower concerns: When it comes to media violence, the battle lines between scholars are drawn in courtrooms, before congressional committees, and through the contested imaginations of minors.

"I am a very reluctant participant in the moral panic about video games, but this is a political dilemma," says Stephen Kline, a communications professor at Simon Fraser University and the author of the forthcoming *End of Play?* (Columbia). In 1995, Kline conducted a laboratory study in which twenty-eight teenage boys and girls played Mortal Kombat, and then watched one another's games on-screen. The physiological responses of the participants when

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they were playing and when they were watching, says Kline, were glaringly different, with the players sweating, their hearts pounding, while the others looked on with heightened, but far less intense, anxiety. It's enough to convince Kline that playing belligerent video games correlates with aggressive behavior and feelings. What's more, Kline argues, the makers of games like MK, driven by bottom-line concerns, build little imagination into the products they hawk to minors. Kline agitates for the "cynical" twenty-billion-dollar video-game industry to put some of its "blood money" into research on the effects of its games. "They should pay like the cigarette companies do," he says. "The problem is that children are being made to learn how to be consumers of violence."

In the wake of school slaughters in Santee, California, and Littleton, Colorado, academics schooled in the quantitative analysis of "media effects" have been summoned to testify before the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation. Most of these scholars concur that adolescent exposure to violent media, especially video games, correlates strongly with aggressive behavior.

But if media-effects scholars speak loudest on these issues, they may not have the last word. They share their territory with scholars from a less quantitative tradition: cultural studies. It's not a field that influences public policy; its practitioners are rarely summoned to testify before Congress. But cultural studies has produced a rival analysis that calls for a more optimistic assessment of teenagers' powers of discernment. Rather than sheltering kids from violent images, these scholars say, adults should seek to understand what these images really mean—or don't mean—to teenagers. It's a compelling argument. Of course, say critics, it's also an approach that serves the interests of a powerful, multibillion-dollar industry.

ACCORDING TO many observers, today's teenagers are experiencing some particularly disturbing trends. The amount of money that corporations spend on marketing violent amusements to minors is fast increasing, and children spend more time than ever playing or watching violent video games or movies. The Federal Communications Commission deregulated children's television in 1984, a move Diane Levin, the author of *Remote Control Childhood? Combating the Hazards of Media Culture,* believes was crucial to the spread of violent products for children and to the emergence of a new kid culture of smash hits that mirrors the adult world of blockbuster-based consumerism. And what's the problem with all this? A number of correlative studies show that kids who view a lot of violent media are likely to develop problems with aggressive behavior. According to the University of Michigan psychologist L. Rowell Huesmann, the correlation is as stark as that between cigarette smoking and lung cancer. Media-effects scholars can't definitively isolate exposure to simulated violence as a *cause* of teen aggression. But they claim that the relationship is too striking to ignore.

Media-effects research has its roots in the World War II era, when psychologists, sociologists, and political scientists studied the impact of propaganda on American soldiers. At the time, propaganda was thought to work like a "magic bullet": The recipient of propagandist messages was presumed to internalize them wholesale. During the postwar years, government funding of research into media reception bolstered the new discipline of communications. The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence paid social scientists to study the effects on children of violent cartoons and the like, while a number of federally funded longitudinal studies, spanning high schools across the country and continuing through the 1970s and 1980s, tracked the long-term consequences of exposure to violent media. Media-effects scholars who compared larceny rates and the prevalence of television viewing concluded that the two rates were climbing in tandem. Another study found that the boys who spent the most time viewing violent television shows at age eight were the most likely to have criminal convictions by age thirty.

Perhaps the best-known media-effects experiment dates back to the 1960s, when the Stanford University sociologist Albert Bandura had a group of children watch a film clip of adults and cartoon characters attacking Bobo the Clown dolls. The Bobo dolls were weighted so that they returned to an upright position after they were struck. Meanwhile, control groups of children were spared the Bobo-beating montage. Afterward, all the children were allowed to play in a room that included a Bobo doll. Those who had seen the Bobo doll being hit were much more aggressive in their play than those who had not.

It was Bandura who, in the late 1970s, established the theoretical foundation of media-effects scholarship, known as social-learning theory. According to Bandura, children mimic their favorite media protagonists, identifying with heroes—homicidal or not—and aping their actions. Video games, which force players into a repetitive identification with one brutal or murderous character, are by these lights considered the worst influence on youngsters. Along with violent films and television shows, video games are thought to arouse children's preexisting aggressive thoughts and to desensitize them to fresh scenes of violence.

Craig A. Anderson, a University of Michigan psychologist who does not favor regulating violent video games, tested these theories in a study he published last year in the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. First he and a colleague, Karen E. Dill of Lenoir-Rhyne College, had 210 college students play Wolfenstein 3D in fifteen-minute spurts. In that game, the player, armed with an automatic weapon, a knife, a revolver, or a flamethrower, dodges Nazis—killing guards, German shepherds, and ultimately the führer himself. A control group spent the same amount of time playing the soft and lyric fantasy game Myst, where adventures involve time travel and puzzle solving. Afterward, researchers paired the students up for another game in which the winner punished the loser by blaring white noise into his or her headphones. The students who had played Wolfenstein 3D kept the white noise going much longer, making their opponents more uncomfortable, than those who had played Myst.

Anderson concludes, "Now that we have a sufficient number of studies on violent video games to do a meta-analysis, we can reliably assert that for college-age kids or younger, playing video games correlates with increased aggressive behavior in the short term." Moreover, violent media induce a persistent fear of victimization, according to a 1999 study by Joanne Cantor, a professor emeritus of communications at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Cantor found that

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26 percent of college students have "residual anxiety" from the violent films they viewed in childhood and adolescence.

THE NUMBERS may look stark, but they are also fraught with ambiguity, say cultural studies scholars. For one thing, correlative studies inevitably raise questions about cause and effect: How can we know that the children who seek out violent video games or watch violent movies weren't the more aggressive kids in the first place? And although statistics may reveal broad patterns, they can't tell us what an experience means to a particular individual, let alone how violent media affect the culture as a whole.

Henry Jenkins, the forty-two-year-old chairman of MIT's Comparative Media Studies Program, sports a Confucius-like beard and a provocatively permissive take on video games. At a Senate hearing two years ago, he cautioned that "it takes a series of interpretive leaps and speculations to move from [statistical] data to any meaningful claim that media images cause real-world violence." Not even statisticians make such bold claims, he pointed out, because "decades of research on media violence still yields contradictory and confusing results." More productive than all the hand-wringing over media regulation, said Jenkins, would be a serious effort to establish an "accepting and accommodating climate in our schools" that is "tolerant of difference" and "seeks to understand the cultural choices made by students rather than trying to prohibit them open expression."

Jenkins later wrote that he was eager to testify before the Senate committee when he realized he would be the only academic speaker who was not a social scientist and who did not see popular culture as a "social problem." A scholar of digital film and video-games, and the editor of *The Children's Culture Reader* (NYU, 1998), Jenkins believes that the study of video games will one day be a field in its own right, like film studies. "Video games are tools for teenagers' imaginations," he explains, as we sit in his book-lined living room near the Charles River. Action figures lie prostrate before theory compendiums on the bookshelves. As Jenkins writes in his contribution to *From Barbie to Mortal Kombat: Gender and Computer Games* (MIT, 1998), an anthology he co-edited with Justine Cassell, video-game culture displaces physical violence into a "symbolic realm.... Rather than beating each other up behind the school, boys combat imaginary characters, finding a potentially safer outlet for their aggressive feelings."

"I THINK VIOLENCE IS HELPFUL TO CHILDREN," SAYS FOWLES. "IT HELPS THEM MAINTAIN EMOTIONAL BALANCE."

FROM LEFT: HENRY JENKINS, STEPHEN KLINE, JIB FOWLES

Jenkins and his colleagues in cultural studies and media studies fault the media-effects camp for, among other things, presuming that adolescent audiences are "naive, impressionable, uncritical," says UC-San Diego communications professor Ellen Seiter, and that television viewing is "passive and mindless." What the social scientists are missing, say Seiter and Jenkins, is that young audiences often extract unanticipated meanings from commercial popular culture. In his Senate testimony, Jenkins cited a group of girls who play the notoriously violent games Quake and Doom: "These women were taking great pleasure in beating the boys at their own games; they experienced the aggressive on-line play as a vehicle of empowerment...[that] would help them prepare...for professional lives where they would have to compete with men."

Jib Fowles, a communications professor at the University of Houston-Clear Lake and the author of *The Case for Television Violence* (Sage, 1999), goes so far as to advocate sanguinary television. "I think violence is helpful to children—it helps them maintain emotional balance," he says.

TOP: CORBIS; BOTTOM, LEFT TO RIGHT: MIT/DONNA COVENEY, SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY, UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON-CLEAR LAKE

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In his book, he notes that levels of television violence remained constant in the United States during the 1990s, but that actual rates of violent crime decreased. He also cites the University of Toronto psychology professor Jonathan Freedman, who has argued that the studies connecting media violence to aggression are far from conclusive. According to Freedman, what the media-effects camp presents as "overwhelming" evidence for such linkages is supported by only about 25 percent of all studies.

PERHAPS THE most famous instance of media violence supposedly begetting real-life child violence was the 1993 abduction and murder of the British two-year-old James Bulger by two ten-year-old boys. Some commentators speculated that the older children were inspired to beat the toddler to death after watching the 1991 movie *Child's Play 3*, in which a teenage boy must hunt down and slay Chucky, a potty-mouthed killer doll who takes possession of a younger child.

David Buckingham, a cultural studies–oriented professor of education at the University of London, made the Bulger case the subject of one of his many books on children's reception of electronic media. After extensive interviews, he concluded that *Child's Play 3* did not profoundly affect most children. Of course, it did have an impact on some viewers—but for complicated reasons, Buckingham stresses. He believes that variations in tone and genre help explain why kids are disturbed by one "video nasty" and not another. Perhaps the most powerful media genre is news reporting; indeed, many of Buckingham's subjects found the news coverage of the Bulger case more disturbing than *Child's Play 3*.

Buckingham adds that children's response to film can be as emotionally rich as that of adults. According to his research, kids revel in the black comedy of slasher movies, viewing them with the same feelings of delight and distress that older viewers do. One six-year-old subject "described what appeared to be a satire of *Alien*, in which 'an alien thing burst out of this person's tummy and started dancing,'" writes Buckingham. "It was, she said, 'funny and horrid and nice.'" The kids in Buckingham's books make stringent distinctions between real life and violent films, television shows, and video games. They often describe films like *Nightmare on Elm Street*, he writes, "as 'unrealistic' and even as laughable, particularly...the older children. Many were keen to draw attention to the liberal use of 'tomato ketchup' and make-up."

Buckingham's research was funded by Britain's Broadcasting Standards Council, and he has recommended that the government respond to violent media with education rather than censorship. British and Australian cultural studies scholars who specialize in children's culture have been called on for policy recommendations. But the same is rarely the case in the United States.

Jenkins says he longs for the day when American media studies scholars will play a comparable role in the policy debate. And he's doing his best to bring that moment about. Last year, when an Indianapolis video arcade lost its legal right to admit minors, the National Coalition Against Censorship, the First Amendment Project, and the Free Expression Policy Project filed a brief on the arcade's behalf. Drawing on the work of Jenkins, Fowles, Seiter, Vivian Sobchack, and Constance Penley, among others, the brief questioned the social science research that supported the court's decision. "For a relatively few predisposed young people, a particular film, TV show, or video game may inspire imitation," the brief read, "but for a far greater number, the same work may be relaxing, cathartic, or simply entertaining.... [As Henry Jenkins has written] 'universalizing claims are fundamentally inadequate in accounting for media's social and cultural impact.'"

Jenkins believes that the Indianapolis brief, as well as his own Senate appearance, marks a shift toward a greater presence for scholars like himself in policy debates on children's media. The most immediate of those debates concerns the efforts of Senator Joseph Lieberman to extend the video-game ratings system to movies and music as well. The game industry resists this move, contending that the cartoon imagery of video games should not be judged by the same standards as film violence.

Jenkins admits that the critical-theory jargon endemic to his field probably keeps him and his peers out of the public eye. "We still speak an arcane language that's self-ghettoized. You have to take a graduate course in theory before you can understand our arguments," he complains. "The media-effects people speak a vernacular language that can be heard in Washington."

According to some media-effects scholars, however, that's not the only reason for cultural studies' absence from the policy makers' table. "We have the highest prestige with government thinkers because we can verify and evaluate objectively," says Wisconsin's Cantor. "Our consensus on methods gives us enhanced credibility over humanists."

THE DIFFERENCES between the two camps are not merely methodological. Kline, who considers Buckingham and Jenkins his key "friendly opponents," is struck by the media studies scholars' indifference to the commercial pressures acting on teenagers. In casting the debate as "the cultural studies liberators against the moralizers," Kline says, "the media studies people ignore the marketplace and only look at video-game play as 'meaning-making.'" But today's kids

ALBERT BANDURA

RESEARCHERS FOUND THAT KIDS EXPOSED TO VIOLENT IMAGES WERE MORE LIKELY TO ATTACK A BOBO THE CLOWN DOLL.

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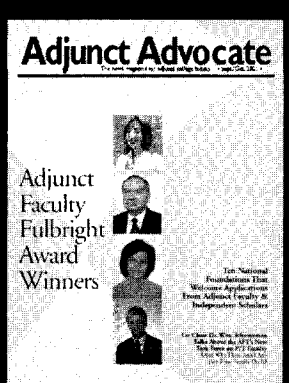

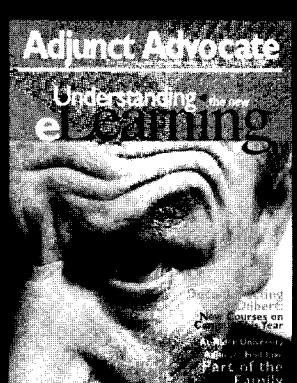

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are shaped by the market and its merchandising machinery. Raised at a time when better technology is provided every few years, they believe they must have increasingly realistic, colorful brutality. In Kline's interviews, teens endorsed the 1997 game Golden Eye 007 over an old classic like Mortal Kombat. They particularly enjoyed the range of ways characters cried out or fell down when dying.

A media studies scholar might exclaim, "Of course, and so what?" Yes, teenage boys delight in playing James Bond, traversing the Siberian steppes and the Cuban jungle in order to kill and maim, slaying squads of soldiers, and shooting to kill a treacherous Russian enemy who looks suspiciously like Alan Cumming. Is that so bad? Haven't such things always sparked kids' imaginations? Kline replies, "When Jenkins argues that children need freedom to explore and develop their own sense of place in the cultural world and that exposure to magic and the darker element is part of that exploration, I agree. I am not revolted by Goth culture, for instance. But violent video games are not about dark magic or imagination. They are about merchandising."

Levin concurs. "The media studies position is a pro-industry position," she says bluntly, whether the scholars intend their arguments to be used that way or not. Mark Crispin Miller, an NYU professor of media ecology and a harsh critic of media merchandising, notes, "There's a marked tendency in cultural studies to apologize for mainstream media."

"Maybe there's nothing to apologize for," replies Fowles. He laughs. "But I plead guilty," he adds. As he sees it, the media-effects scholars who attack television violence are elitists who evince contempt for the pleasures of ordinary people. There is, Fowles maintains, "merit to an approach that seeks to explain the anti-television-violence campaigns in terms of concealed class antagonisms": Given the mass popularity of video games and television, he says, and the highbrow distaste for popular culture, this debate is little more than "the patricians versus the plebeians."

And Jenkins? He readily admits that he has organized a conference in collaboration with the gaming industry. He has also been hired to speak before video-game companies on occasion. Indeed, his work with the entertainment industry was one of the reasons that his presence was requested on the Senate floor two years ago. During the hearing, he recalls, he was clustered with Jack Valenti, the president and CEO of the Motion Picture Association of America, and Doug Lowenstein, president of the Interactive Digital Software Association.

"The truth is, I was called by the industry, and the media-effects people were called by conservative think tanks or [Republican] Senator Sam Brownback," says Jenkins. Should we find that troubling? Perhaps. But Jenkins doesn't seem to. As he points out, "There are only two seats at the table."

Alissa Quart's work has appeared in *The New York Times,* the London *Independent,* and Salon.com. Her article "The Lost Emperors: Japan Scholars Struggle to Unearth the Past" appeared in the December 2000/January 2001 *LF.*

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"RACE ACROSS BORDERS" CONFERENCE: October 31, 2001, 4:00 p.m.–6:00 p.m. and November 1, 2001, 9:00 a.m.–5:00 p.m. Lerner Hall, Room #569. There are numerous meanings of globalization and each focuses our understanding of identity and social life by highlighting different dimensions of global interchange. With the flow of images, symbols, goods, and people crossing state and other borders, conventional ways of marking subjectivity and belonging are being rewritten. This free public conference will critically explore how the reconfiguration of territories is leading to new conceptualizations of personal and collective identities. Panelists include Don Robotham, *The Graduate Center/CUNY;* Faye Harrison, *University of Tennessee;* Amrita Basu, *Amherst College;* Leith Mullings, *The Graduate Center/CUNY;* Howard Winant, *Temple University;* Percy Hintzen, *University of California at Berkeley;* Zolani Ngwane, *Haverford College;* Sandhya Shukla, *Columbia University;* Arvind Rajagopal, *New York University;* Sundiata Cha-Jua, *University of Illinois at Urbana;* Gina Perez, *Hunter College/CUNY;* Rob Smith, *Barnard College;* Nicholas De Genova, *Columbia University;* Avelardo Valdez, *University of Texas at San Antonio;* Carolle Charles, *Baruch College/CUNY;* Lewis R. Gordon, *Brown University;* Vijay Prashad, *Trinity College;* Angela Gilliam, *Evergreen State College;* Steven Gregory, *Columbia University; and* Manning Marable, *Columbia University.*

"TOWARD A THIRD RECONSTRUCTION? REPARATIONS, RACISM AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY" Symposium – November 2, 2001, 9:00 a.m.–6:00 p.m. Schapiro Center's Davis Auditorium. This academic year, the Institute will host two symposia on "Reparations, Racism and American Democracy" as part of an Institute-sponsored working group of scholars examining structural racism in the United States, past and present. The first symposium, scheduled for November 2, 2001, will emphasize the social science perspective while the second, scheduled for spring 2002, will focus on the arts and humanities. Presented papers will be part of an anthology, *The Case for Reparations,* or published in the Institute's journal *Souls.* Invited participants include Randall Robinson, Charles Ogeltree, Cornel West, Farah Griffin, Robin D.G. Kelley, Ronald Walters, Thomas Boston, William Darity, Johnnetta Cole, and Manning Marable.

Contact the Institute at (212) 854-7080 to request additional information. To pre-register for the conference or symposia, which are free and open to the public, please send an e-mail noting your name, mailing address, and title of the event that you plan to attend to sh2004@columbia.edu.

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THOMAS EAKINS IS SUSPECTED OF TRACING MANY OF HIS PAINTINGS FROM PHOTOGRAPHS.

DOUBTING THOMAS

A LEGENDARY PAINTER'S METHODS ARE FINALLY EXPOSED

BY **RICHARD B. WOODWARD**

THOMAS EAKINS IS IN TROUBLE AGAIN. No, for once it has nothing to do with rumors of sexual improprieties involving young women or men.

This is altogether different from the scandal the American painter incited in 1886, when he was dismissed from the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts for removing a loincloth from a male model in the presence of female students. Nor does this affair concern more recent eyebrow-raising speculations about the many images of nude males in his pictorial archive and what they might suggest about his sublimated desires.

No, this time Eakins has finally been caught in what even he himself seems to have regarded as a scandalous act; and this time, instead of wisps of Freudian theory as a framework for new readings, art historians have scientific evidence of guilty behavior and willful suppression to work with.

This October, the Philadelphia Museum of Art (PMA), in a quietly provocative retrospective, will unveil the truth to the public: For many years, the artist celebrated by at least one contemporary critic as "the greatest draughtsman in America," and now generally ranked among the towering artists of his age, painted some of his most celebrated canvases from photographs.

And not in a way ever documented before. It wouldn't be so unsettling if this discovery simply concerned the use of photographs as raw material from which Eakins squared up a final hand-drawn work. (The venerable technique of squaring up, popularized in the Renaissance, cuts the labor of enlargement into equal parts: A preparatory sketch or photo is divided into a grid for transfer to a wall or canvas; each square of the microwork is then copied step-by-step onto a grid on the macrowork.)

What conservators at the PMA have uncovered, however, suggests a reliance on photographs beyond anything seen before in nineteenth-century art. Not only did Eakins on occasion square up photographs, he also *projected* glass-plate negatives or positives onto canvases and paper, using those projected images to dictate the outlines and the details of his painted compositions. In other words, he violated one of the axioms of creativity as drilled into us by well-meaning art teachers since nursery school. He used photographs as stencils. He traced. He "cheated."

What's more, Eakins covered up his tracks. Despite overwhelming evidence—pieced together only within the last couple of years—that from 1872 to 1886 he repeatedly adopted this novel method, he never acknowledged it. Nor did anyone in a position to know (his wife, relatives, students, critics) ever mention it. Indeed, Susan Eakins went so far as to claim that her husband "disliked working from a photograph, and absolutely refused to do so in a portrait."

The PMA's revelations are likely to deepen the enigma of an artist admired since the early twentieth century for his hand-hewn integrity—as the Abraham Lincoln of native realism. In the 1930s, the critic Lewis Mumford spoke for many when he contrasted Eakins's "salty directness" and "absence of pretence and sham" with the "sunny impressionism" of his peers. Straightforward and simpleminded, scholars are learning every year, Thomas Eakins was not.

Most students of contemporary art are apt either to cheer or to shrug at the news that Eakins let technology take some of the traditional artistic labor off his shoulders. With some justification, they may view him as a conceptual-art or photo-realist compadre, decades ahead of his time. How the rest of us will feel, though,

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is less certain. A test of whatever vestiges of romantic dogma about art and genius lie buried in each of us, the show offers further proof that the no-nonsense figure of modernist myth, whom many people thought they knew well, was not everything we thought he was or may have wanted him to be.

FOR THE LAST two years, a select group of visitors—curators within the museum and from Europe, Eakins scholars from around the country, and journalists—have toured the PMA's conservation labs to see what all the fuss is about.

It's not as if Eakins and his work haven't been scrutinized for decades. The obsession with which he studied rowers and baseball players before painting exacting pictures of them is now well appreciated; and the allegories embedded in his portraits of dauntless artists and scientists have been exhaustively decoded. The PMA itself mounted a retrospective as recently as 1982.

The museum believed Eakins warranted another long look almost entirely because of the discovery in 1985 by the art historians Kathleen Foster and Cheryl Liebold of hundreds of photographic prints and negatives made by Eakins and his circle, and saved by acolyte Charles Bregler and his descendants. The find is among the richest and luckiest in American art history. "It's almost unheard of that this late in the game—almost seventy years after an artist's death, and an artist this well known—you could happen upon so much unknown material that required so much rethinking about his life and work," says Foster, curator of nineteenth- and twentieth-century art at the Indiana University Art Museum and author of the much-admired 1998 book *Thomas Eakins Rediscovered.*

With the Bregler images in hand, scholars throughout the 1990s had a new set of tools with which to reexamine Eakins's paintings and watercolors. The many one-to-one correspondences they found between photographic studies and finished works suggested not only that Eakins liked what photography could do for him as an artist but that he positively delighted in its manifold powers.

Still, exactly *how* he used photographs was anyone's guess until the spring of 1999, when the PMA's assistant conservator of paintings Nica Gutman began to clean *Shad Fishing at Gloucester on the Delaware River*—a small genre painting of fishermen on the shore, made in 1881 and on loan from Ball State University. Using infrared reflectography (IRR), Gutman and the senior conservator of paintings Mark Tucker noticed a series of faint cursory outlines drawn in pencil of figures and features in the landscape.

Developed in the 1960s, IRR uses television cameras that are sensitive to near-infrared radiation to detect what's hidden beneath the surfaces of things. When hooked up to optical scanners, a development of the late 1980s, IRR can see through layers of pigment and reflect back traces of freehand markings or ruled grids under the surface of the picture.

The continuous lines found by IRR in the underdrawing of *Shad Fishing* suggested to Tucker something much more like a tracing than a freehand sketch. After pointing out a cluster of trees in another Eakins painting, *Mending the Net,* Tucker escorts me to a computer, where Gutman brings up a series of IRR scans.

"He was sketching whole contours," Tucker explains. "See, he never picks up the pencil."

GUTMAN AND Tucker knew from the Bregler collection that Eakins had arduously composed a second painting—also called *Shad Fishing at Gloucester on the Delaware River,* thought to have been painted a year later—by editing from photographs. Not unlike a cinema director, Eakins seems to have begun with an establishing shot of the scene, and then taken close-ups of individuals or details he thought might coexist together. He was not above dressing up his family and photographing them as models for his paintings.

One can easily see what intrigued him about the medium. The camera is the perfect tool for breaking ingrained pictorial habits; it sees democratically, recording gestures, shadows, and arrays of figures without honoring preconceptions of what's central or important. The realism of the accidental must have pleased Eakins. But so did the ability to edit out anything in a photograph he didn't want in the final composition. He used photographs freely, as earlier nineteenth-century academicians used a charcoal stick. In Tucker's words, Eakins was "very results-oriented."

But how Eakins transferred photographs and drew faint lines was not immediately clear. "The photographs would only be helpful, we thought, if he had squared them up," says Tucker. Yet a searching examination with IRR found no traces of a grid in the second *Shad Fishing* painting. "And that's when we looked at the watercolor," says Tucker with a note of triumph.

RIGHT: 'SHAD FISHING AT GLOUCESTER ON THE DELAWARE RIVER' (1881). ABOVE: DETAIL WITH INFRARED REFLECTOGRAPHY

Under a microscope nearby, Tucker has arranged another Eakins landscape, a watercolor titled *Drawing the Seine.* A pencil outline demarcating waves and foam in water is barely but indisputably visible through the translucent green pigment. Again there was a source photograph for the picture, but again Tucker and Gutman found no grid. Looking at an oil painting, even with IRR, there's always a chance you haven't got to the bottom of the layers and seen everything. But the chances are next to nil with watercolor.

"That's when we became fairly convinced that he must have been using some kind of projection technique," says Tucker. "There was no other good explanation for what we were and weren't finding."

ARGUMENTS OVER the merits of photography as an instrument of art or science must have echoed in Eakins's ears all his life, in much the same way that anyone born after 1980 has heard personal computers routinely denounced and deified. Eakins's birth in 1844 followed soon after the announced invention of the photographic medium by Daguerre in 1839; and, as the PMA research associate W. Douglass Paschall notes in his catalog essay, Eakins is one of the first artists of whom a childhood photograph exists.

As a student at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris who from 1866 to 1869

NICA GUTMAN AND JOE MIKULIAK; OPPOSITE: BALL STATE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM OF ART, MUNCIE, INDIANA, ELISABETH BALL COLLECTION. PARTIAL GIFT AND PROMISED GIFT OF THE GEORGE AND FRANCES BALL FOUNDATION, 1995.005.10

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"HE WAS SKETCHING WHOLE CONTOURS," TUCKER EXPLAINS. "SEE, HE NEVER PICKS UP THE PENCIL."

absorbed the French academic drawing and painting tradition, and as an avid photographer who bought a camera in 1880, Eakins was surely aware of the widely perceived rift between the two picture-making processes. But unlike many of his contemporaries, he seems to have regarded the two media as compatible. He did not believe that art and science were necessarily in conflict; indeed, throughout his life, he was as friendly with doctors and scientists as with painters.

That photography held a fascination for Eakins is no secret. An early admirer of Eadweard Muybridge's photographic experiments with motion in the 1870s, the scientific-minded painter even adapted Muybridge's animal-locomotion sequences in 1878 for display in a zoetrope. Before his dismissal from the academy of fine arts in 1886, Eakins periodically had a camera set up in a studio so his students could better understand the body by studying photographs of one another.

Secrecy was called for, however, when it came to painters' owning up to the direct use of photographs. Common as photographs were as primary material for any number of artists during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—Edouard Manet, Edgar Degas, Paul Gauguin, Pierre Bonnard, Edvard Munch, Auguste Rodin, for example—few artists would acknowledge the relationship in public. As Ingres said: "What a wonderful thing photography is—but one dare not say that aloud." Gutman notes that "some people thought that paintings derived from photographs needed to be marked as such and exhibited separately." The stigma was only magnified in the case of projected photographs.

The most compelling evidence that Eakins, too, went to great lengths to disguise his reliance on photographs was a group of incisions uncovered on February 17, 2000, as Tucker and Gutman were examining *Swimming*, a painting from 1884–1885. This bucolic tableau of six nude bathers (and a dog) at a swimming hole is one of his most famous canvases from the period. The conservators knew from surviving photographs in the Bregler collection that Eakins had made photographic studies for the painting, none of which was an exact match.

They were nonetheless surprised and puzzled to find buried under the surface a set of idiosyncratic reference marks utterly different from those in the first *Shad Fishing* painting. Less cursive than rectilinear, these hieroglyphs are described by Tucker and Gutman in their catalog essay as "short, freehand horizontal and vertical lines, crosses, T's, or sections of contour, incised with a needlelike stylus into the

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Illinois Humanities Post-Doctoral Fellowships

Illinois Program for Research in the Humanities

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

The Illinois Program for Research in the Humanities will appoint two external post-doctoral fellowships for 2002-03, during which the IPRH annual theme will be "The South." Each Fellow will receive $35,000 and a $2,000 research account for the year. Each Fellow will be invited to teach one course based on their current research to interested graduate students, and to participate in the Program's activities coordinated with the annual theme.

Qualifications and Requirements

- Fellows will have completed their Ph.D. degrees between 1996 and 1999.
- Fellows must have two or more years of teaching experience; teaching done as an advanced graduate student counts toward the fulfillment of this requirement.

Application Procedures

- Complete guidelines and information about the theme "The South" can be found online at www.iprh.uiuc.edu.
- Application materials must be postmarked on or before December 7, 2001. Awards will be announced on or about February 1, 2002.

Illinois Program for Research in the Humanities
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New York University

FACULTY POSITION

The Center for the Study of Gender & Sexuality and The Department of Sociology

Faculty of Arts and Science

The Faculty of Arts and Science invites applications for a tenured associate or full professorship in Sociology with a specialization in gender and sexuality studies. The appointment will begin Fall 2002, pending budgetary and administrative approval. This is a joint appointment between the interdisciplinary Center for the Study of Gender and Sexuality and the Department of Sociology. Substantial scholarly achievement and pedagogical distinction are sought; applicants with a demonstrated commitment to interdisciplinary teaching and program development are especially encouraged to apply. Please send a letter of application, curriculum vitae, four letters of recommendation, and a 20-25 page writing sample to: **Professor Carolyn Dinshaw, Director, CSGS, 285 Mercer Street, 3rd Floor, New York University, New York, NY 10003-6653.** Deadline for applications is **November 1, 2001.**

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HOMILETICS, TENURE-TRACK

Drew University, The Theological School, together with the Caspersen School of Graduate Studies, invites nominations and applications for a tenure track position in Homiletics, rank open. Drew seeks a professor who will be responsible for teaching basic and advanced preaching courses to seminary students as well as Homiletics courses for PhD students in the Liturgical Studies program at the Graduate School. At Drew Theological Seminary basic preaching is currently taught in the context of a year long, team-taught course that integrates preaching, music, and liturgy.

Applicants for the position should have a PhD in Homiletics or in a related field of theological studies, significant preaching experience in a church setting, interest in the performance of preaching, including communicating the Gospel in a digital culture, teaching experience along with evidence of scholarship in the field of Homiletics. The successful candidate will possess a manifest commitment to foster culturally diverse preaching styles, to encourage an interest in the interaction of preaching, music, and worship, and to mentor graduate students in homiletics.

The Theological School is affiliated with the United Methodist Church and together with the Caspersen School of Graduate Studies continues its development of a diverse, engaged, and interdisciplinary faculty, equipped to teach an international and multiethnic student body.

Applications including a cover letter, c.v., three letters of reference, writing sample, and a video of a sermon or homily should be sent by October 15, 2001. To: **Prof. A. M. Isasi-Diaz, Theological School, Drew University, 36 Madison Avenue, Madison, NJ 07940.**

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paint at various stages *during* the painting of the figures."

Tucker and Gutman were aware of no preparatory drawing method that could account for these odd scratches. Again there was no grid. Eakins, they reasoned, must have projected images of the figures to set up their positions in the scheme of the painting. The process must have been painstaking: He projected, traced, painted, checked the result against the projected image, marked the outlines of a hand or an arm with a stylus, painted, checked, and so on across the canvas, building up the surface, always being sure in the end to cover the stylus marks.

Considering this evidence along with material Paschall has dug up from photography periodicals published in the 1860s and 1870s, the PMA curators have concluded that Eakins used either a magic lantern (which projects glass transparencies) or a catoptric lamp (which projects photographic prints), or both, to achieve his results. We know that Eakins gave lectures with a magic lantern, and the Bregler collection contains slides that could be used in such a device.

Paschall believes that instruments like the magic lantern were common visual aids for artists. A passage about magic lanterns from a book published in 1875 supports his point: "Another important application of this instrument is in making enlargements for life-size crayons or oil paintings.... The artist, with a charcoal crayon, works on the side from the lantern, and makes a careful tracing of every line and feature in such a way as to best suit his purpose."

But like so much else in this case, the questions the evidence invites are as numerous as those it answers. How could someone not have caught Eakins in the act and wondered what he was doing? Why have the photographs of the nude figures from which he painted *Swimming* not survived? And why did he feel the need to make things more difficult for himself? It would have been so easy to "cheat" for real, to trace from a single image—something he appears almost never to have done. His experiments in the application of photography to painting often seem far more trouble than they were worth. Or, as Tucker diplomatically puts it: "Photographs for Eakins were both a timesaving substitute for drawing and incredibly time-consuming in their own right."

EAKINS SCHOLARS have generally accepted the findings with enthusiasm. No visitor to the PMA labs has refuted the news, and most believe it dovetails smoothly with everything else known about the artist's gnarly, empirical temperament. It also explains the absence of drawings from the 1870s and early 1880s.

"It fits so well with other evidence," argues Darrel Sewell, the PMA's longtime curator of American art. "With his deep interest in the technical aspects of making a picture. With his measuring a rowing shell to be sure of its dimensions. With hoisting a student up on a cross before painting a crucifixion. He enjoys the struggle of academic problems and gains aesthetic satisfaction from working them out. Projected photographs are just a logical next step. It's a satisfying piece of the puzzle."

Foster believes the IRR images show again how fascinated Eakins was by progressive technology. "He was schooled in the Beaux Arts tradition and was a fabulous draftsman. He really could draw. But if he were alive today, he'd have a digital scanner and be doing computer imaging."

One art historian was not so pleased, however, when he heard Eakins had been so technologically minded. Marc Simpson, associate director of the graduate program in the history of art at Williams College and author of five essays in the retrospective catalog, covered his ears when Tucker presented him with the facts. "He looked crushed," says Gutman.

Simpson is only slightly chagrined when asked about his heartbreak. "I think all of us have a romantic notion of how a work of art is made," he says. "We want to believe that a painter like Eakins creates his realistic illusions with skill, hard work, or natural genius, not with any kind of technological trickery. We want to see the individual gesture, the free-form hand."

Perfectly aware that artists have used lenses for centuries, Simpson knows his initial response was not entirely rational: "In one's thoughtful mode, one thinks, Fine. For Eakins to draw from photographs shows modernity in his thinking." Simpson grants that Eakins has in no way abdicated responsibility for the final result—far from it. "Artistic choice—what goes into a picture and what's deleted—that element of creativity is so present in these works," he says. Still, he notes that his initial reaction is not hard to understand: "Somehow, by projecting an image, he seems to be transgressing and insulting the tradition of craftsmanship he's inherited. That he just traced the bloody thing disturbs us."

"WE WANT TO BELIEVE THAT A PAINTER LIKE EAKINS CREATES HIS REALISTIC ILLUSIONS WITH SKILL, NOT WITH ANY KIND OF TECHNOLOGICAL TRICKERY," SAYS SIMPSON.

With photography crowding out painting in the contemporary-art galleries of New York, London, and Paris, the revelations about Eakins could not be more timely. Museums, historians, and the public have never seemed so involved with the topic of art and optics. Witness last year's *The Artist and the Camera: Degas to Picasso,* organized by Dorothy Kosinski for the Dallas Museum of Art. (An essay in the catalog implies that during the 1890s Munich artist Franz von Stuck also traced paintings from photographs.) Or this year's *Vermeer and the School of Delft* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where one room displayed the various optical instruments available to the seventeenth-century Dutch artist.

The PMA was delighted that the Musée d'Orsay wanted to join forces for an Eakins exhibition. Usually some arm-twisting is required before the French will hang

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CONFERENCES OF NOTE

LOST AND FOUND: THE ART OF TRANSLATION

IOWA CITY, IA; OCTOBER 12–14, 2001

Announcing the second biennial University of Iowa International Writing PROGRAM FESTIVAL, A CONFERENCE AND CELEBRATION OF THE ART OF TRANSLATION. Participants include: Linda Asher, Clare Cavanagh, Bei Dao, William Gass, Edmund Keeley, Göran Malmqvist, John Matthias, W.S. Merwin, John Nathan, Nikolai Popov, Francine Prose, Zvonimir Radeljkovic, Ellen Doré Watson, Eliot Weinberger, Daniel Weissbort. For more information, contact Susan Benner, E-MAIL: SUSAN-BENNER@UIOWA.EDU, PHONE: (515) 233-1664. Or write to the International Writing Program, 460 EPB, University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA 52242-1408

COMMODIFYING EVERYTHING

DELAWARE, DE; OCTOBER 12 & 13, 2001

Consumption and Capitalist Enterprise is the theme of the Center for the History of Business, Technology, and Society's fall conference at the Hagley Museum and Library in Wilmington, Delaware. THE CONFERENCE EXPLORES THE HISTORICAL PROCESS OF COMMODIFICATION, ESPECIALLY THE SPREAD OF THE MARKET TO NEW AREAS OF SOCIAL AND MATERIAL LIFE. Papers look at topics as diverse as the creation of a pet industry, the commerce in religious products, and marketing of coffins. While most are on American themes, several take an international perspective on the emotional and political issues raised by goods, such as controversies over adulterated ghee in India and use of image on British pottery. Registration is free but required, and there are modest charges for lunch and dinner served during the conference. To request the program or more information, E-MAIL CRL@UDEL.EDU or call (302)-658-2400, ext. 243.

VISUAL WORLDS

DAVIS, CA; OCTOBER 26–28, 2001

The UC-Davis Center for History, Society, and Culture announces a major interdisciplinary conference, Visual Worlds. OUR PREMISE IS THAT SOCIAL WORLDS ARE NOT ONLY REFLECTED IN BUT ALSO SHAPED BY VISUAL CONVENTIONS. Just as linear perspective once operated as a "symbolic form" that helped organize the social understanding of a new socioeconomic order, so today newly emergent visual forms are having wide-ranging social, economic, and political consequences. Visual experience is of a unique significance now because it facilitates cross-cultural communication necessary for globalization and helps transform information into a commodity. Featured speakers include: sociologists Darnell Hunt, Marshall Battani, and Robin Wagner-Pacifici; cultural critics Lauren Berlant, Jennifer Gonzalez, Constance Penley, and Jon Lapointe; artists Mary Kelly, RTMark, Andrea Fraser, and Allan Sekula, and intellectual historian Martin Jay. Conference is free but pre-registration is required. Web: http://chsc.ucdavis.edu/visualworlds.html or phone (530) 752-1638.

THE FUTURE OF CULTURAL MEMORY

COLUMBIA, SC: FEBRUARY 14–17, 2002

The Program in Comparative Literature at the University of South Carolina announces a conference, "The Future of Cultural Memory." This conference will address issues at the INTERSECTION OF CULTURAL/LITERARY STUDY, POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY, AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. Possible topics include: the politics of history and memory, transitions to and from democracy, the public sphere, culture of/and globalization, Third World feminism, postcolonial legacies, narrative and identity, literature/culture and practical reason, cosmopolitanism, culture and citizenship. Plenary speakers include: Alessandro Ferrara (Parma, Italy), Linda Alcoff (Syracuse), and Pascal Michon (College International de Philosophie, Paris). Send inquiries and one-page abstracts for twenty-minute papers by July 1, 2001 to Meili Steele, Comparative Literature, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208 telephone: (803) 777-0473; E-MAIL: STEELEM@SC.EDU. Selected papers will be published in Intertexts. Completed papers are due on October 1, 2001.

CALIBRATIONS: SIZING UP SPACES, COMMUNITIES, AND SELVES

COLLEGE STATION, TX; APRIL 4–6, 2002

The Center for Humanities Research at Texas A&M University invites paper abstracts (500 words) for its eighth biennial interdisciplinary conference. "Calibrations" explores how the nature and scale of human communities and identities have changed. The arts, history, literature and language, philosophy, political and social thought, and cultural and social formations. HOW DO SPACES BECOME CONFIGURED INTO COMMUNITIES? How do subjects navigate communities locally, regionally, nationally, globally to form and transform identities? Such questions will be addressed by panels and by plenary and featured speakers, including Trinh T. Minh-Ha, Rosi Braidotti, Walter Benn Michaels, R. Rolando Hinojosa-Smith, Robbie McCauley, Michael Awkward, Charles Curran, Jorge Gracia, V. Spike Peterson, Marcus Rediker, and Char Miller. Submissions due: October 31, 2001. Contact: Conference Committee, Center for Humanities Research, Texas A&M University, 4232 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4232. Telephone: (979) 845-8328; Web: http://www.tamu.edu/chr

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American art pre–Jackson Pollock, and given our insatiable hunger for Claude Monet and Henri Matisse, cultural exchanges on this front can be difficult. "I can count on one hand the number of one-person shows by American painters the French have exhibited in their national museums in my lifetime," says Anne d'Harnoncourt, director of the PMA.

But with photography at the heart of the show and Eakins's academic training in Paris as selling points, eagerness among the Musée d'Orsay curators for the retrospective is high. The finding that Eakins projected images has sent them back to examine with IRR the paintings of his teachers Jean-Léon Gérôme and Léon Bonnat. Any number of other Second Empire favorites, from Adolphe-William Bouguereau to Alexandre Cabanel, are now suspected of having drawn with projected images.

The exhibition may well have ramifications for understanding the entire history of post-Renaissance art. Indirectly, the Eakins case helps to support David Hockney's belief that earlier painters such as Caravaggio and Rubens used optical devices to achieve their highly detailed effects. According to Paschall, however, the PMA has deliberately not told Hockney about the Eakins discoveries. The British artist has so riled up and divided art historians that to gain him as an ally in these matters could harm the reception of their arguments. Still, Hockney and his defenders can point to Eakins to argue that if a painter in late-nineteenth-century America concealed such a practice, then certainly earlier painters were capable of keeping secrets, too.

OVER LUNCH with Tucker, Gutman, and Paschall in the PMA dining room, some interpretive differences emerge. Tucker is not convinced that either Eakins or his wife regarded painting from photographs as a sin. "If the practice were a secret, why did the photographs survive? Why didn't Susan Eakins destroy them?" he asks. To which Paschall answers that she almost certainly was involved in burning piles of photos. The explanation usually given had been that she was getting rid of his scandalous nude pictures. But Paschall isn't sure she didn't have another motive: so the world couldn't "connect the photographs to the paintings."

In any case, the evidence indicates that Eakins moved away from photography in his final works. None of his late portraits bear signs that he traced from photographs. For reasons still unclear, after 1886 and coincident with his forced resignation, his interest in photography as a painting tool came to an end. Although he continued to take pictures of many of his subjects, the harsh, almost brutally real human faces and figures found throughout his post-1900 career were apparently drawn and painted without the direct aid of the camera. Why he stopped projecting photographs on his canvases is becoming as much a mystery as why he began.

Paschall, a dogged researcher who left Princeton just shy of finishing his Ph.D. in the history of photography, enjoys filling in gaps in the Eakins case. No projection device has ever been found. But Paschall would dearly love to put his hands on the missing estate auction catalog from July

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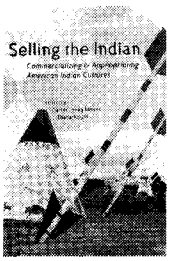

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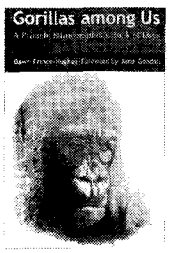

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UNLIKE MANY OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES, EAKINS REGARDED PHOTOGRAPHY AND PAINTING AS COMPATIBLE ART FORMS.

26, 1939, when many of Eakins's possessions were sold. "I wouldn't be surprised if the smoking gun—or smoking lantern—was in that sale," he says.

Paschall believes that several painters close to Eakins, including the late-Romantic Peter Rothermel, adopted the projection method, and he can't wait to make a trip to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, where Rothermel's diorama of the Civil War battle was unveiled in 1870. "It's perfect for drawing the perspective of a diorama," he tells a curious Tucker and Gutman. "Just put the projector on a lazy Susan and pan around the room."

As a laborsaving device to reduce the maddening technical problems of perspective drawing—placing objects in proportion to a surrounding space—the projection of photographs must have tempted every kind of artist. To shrink or enlarge a picture, one need only move the image lamp closer or farther away from the canvas.

"Other painters at the time must have done this," argues Paschall. "Eakins was so manic that he left evidence. We lucked out. Now that we know what to look for, we can check out every painter after 1850."

ONE OF the few frustrations of the IRR scans has been their inability to penetrate the layers of dark paint on one of Eakins's most acclaimed and analyzed works, *The Gross Clinic*, which hangs nearby at the Thomas Jefferson University. More than ever, the picture appears to be an allegory about the heroic science of seeing. Dr. Gross holds a bloody scalpel in his hand, challenging the young males in the surgery amphitheater (and us) to confront unpleasant anatomical realities of the body. Only a young woman can't abide the sight and turns away.

It's odd that for such an ambitious picture, begun in 1875 when he was avidly experimenting with projections, Eakins would not have made use of them. But no photographic studies have been found, and from recorded complaints by Samuel Gross, we know that Eakins taxed the doctor's patience with requests for multiple preparatory portrait sessions. Tantalizing as it may be to imagine what lies in the tissue of the painting, even IRR can't tell us. "Too much carbon in the pigment," reports Paschall.

Heading back to his office in the curatorial department, Paschall walks me through the warren of a room where a group of Eakins's paintings, sculptures, bronze anatomical casts, and sketches are displayed. We step up to inspect *The Wrestlers*, an unfinished oil from 1898 that depicts two young male wrestlers grappling on a floor. One original photographic study for these wrestlers has survived.

Pointing at a line that Eakins drew near the center of the thinly painted canvas, Paschall observes, "It's a more traditional kind of underdrawing. It's what we would expect to find. He doesn't mind that we can see the grid." Because this is an incomplete work, the observation isn't entirely just.

Moving to our right, where *Swimming* hangs, the contrast is striking. The IRR scans by Tucker and Gutman revealed a minefield of tiny stylus marks hemming in the figures. But nothing is visible to the naked eye. Paschall calls attention to the head of an older man, now known to be Eakins himself, swimming toward the group of young men.

"See, in the final stages, he adds a dab of paint right here"—he points to the chin—"so that no marks remain. He's carefully gone back to hide any sign that it might have come from a photograph."

As Paschall points out various details, the museum alarms sound. He has triggered the sensors by coming too close to the painting. Flashing his plastic identity badge at the security guard, he laughs and says, "It's okay. I'm a curator."

Still suspicious, the guard backs off. But Paschall keeps pointing and talking, and the alarms keep blaring, and I try not to look away.

Richard B. Woodward is an editor at large at *DoubleTake* magazine.

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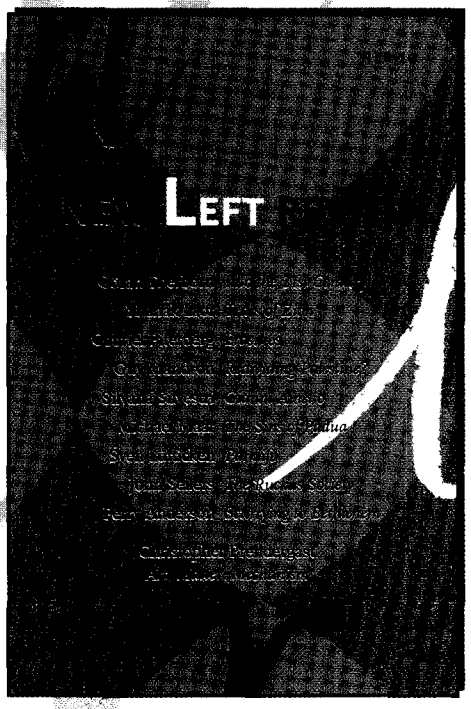

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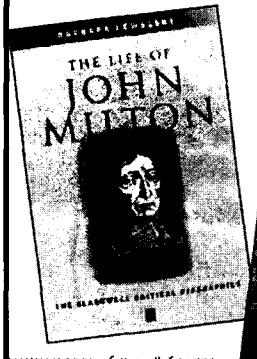

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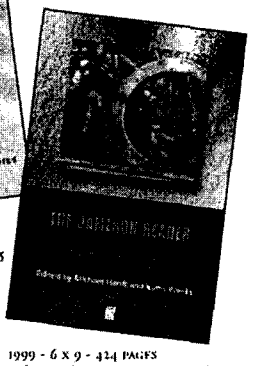

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SINGLE-EGG THEORY

IMMACULATE CONCEPTION WITHOUT GOD

WHEN DOES A HUMAN LIFE begin? Opponents of abortion and stem-cell research, like the Roman Catholic Church and the right wing of the Republican Party, draw the line at the moment of conception. Could it be that they are drawing it not too early, as those on the other side of the debate maintain, but too *late*?

At conception, an egg and a sperm come together to form an embryo. The egg and the sperm, everyone seems to agree, are not by themselves human beings. Why? Because, as Robert P. George, a professor of jurisprudence at Princeton University, recently put it in a *Wall Street Journal* Op-Ed, "they lack the epigenetic primordia for internally directed growth and maturation as a distinct, complete, self-integrating human organism." What Professor George was presumably getting at is the fact that the egg and the sperm each have just half the number of chromosomes needed for human development. They are, to use the technical term, haploid cells. Only when their nuclei fuse do you get a diploid cell—that is, one with a complete genetic blueprint for a person.

But consider another, quite different scenario. Start with an unfertilized egg in a sperm-free environment. Now suppose the nucleus of this egg were to divide and the resulting pair of nuclei were to fuse as if one of them came from a sperm. This cell would then be a diploid cell. What would prevent it from developing into a full-blown organism the same way a fertilized egg does?

In fact, that is precisely what happens in many kinds of animals, including reptiles, amphibians, and birds. The phenomenon is called parthenogenesis, from the Greek for "virgin birth." Parthenogenesis was discovered (in aphids, as it happens) in the eighteenth century by the Swiss naturalist Charles Bonnet. By the twentieth century, biologists had figured out how to induce it artificially; exposing frog eggs to salt water, they found, could start the sequence that led to tadpoles and mature frogs, even in the absence of sperm.

But what about higher animals? Despite occasional claims made by unmarried pregnant teens in "Dear Abby" letters, there are no documented cases of parthenogenesis in humans. A couple of researchers have reportedly got the process under way in rabbits and mice, only to see the parthenogenetic fetus abort spontaneously well before birth. The problem seems to be that most of the instructions that cause the placenta to form in fetal mammals are carried by the chromosomes of the sperm. The egg also has genetic instructions for constructing the placenta, but those bits of its DNA are switched off by a chemical coating. Thus successful parthenogenesis in humans would require stripping off this coating and turning those genes on again.

Is this possible? In 1984, a committee on bioethics set up by the British government and chaired by the Cambridge University philosopher Mary Warnock declared, "We consider that there is no possibility at present of inducing parthenogenesis, or 'virgin birth' as it is commonly known, in humans, and indeed we do not believe such a development will take place in the foreseeable future." Since then, however, manipulation of DNA at the molecular level has become fairly routine in the laboratory, and no major technological obstacles now appear to stand in the way of producing an adult human from an unfertilized egg.

The possibility of parthenogenesis eliminates any ethical distinction between an unfertilized egg and an embryo—at least according to the biologist Harold J. Morowitz and the physicist James S. Trefil in their 1992 book, *The Facts of Life* (Oxford). "Imagine that you have a fertilized egg, a conventional zygote, in one test tube and an unfertilized egg in the other," they write. "Left to themselves, they would both perish. Each, however, has the potential of becoming a human being, *provided that it is supplied with the appropriate machinery*. In the case of the zygote, that machinery is the mother's body. In the case of the unfertilized egg, that machinery involves a laboratory and then the mother's body."

To those who argue that the machinery needed by the unfertilized egg to become human is unnatural, Morowitz and Trefil respond that it is "no more unnatural than the incubator used to keep a premature infant alive, and certainly less unnatural than *in utero* surgery." By this line of reasoning, an unfertilized egg is, like a frozen embryo, a *developable* (but not a *developing*) human life. The destruction of a frozen embryo for the purposes of stem-cell research is thus of no greater ethical moment than the destruction of an unfertilized egg at the end of a woman's menstrual cycle.

If parthenogenesis becomes a practical possibility, a curious inversion could take place in reproductive politics. It is not hard to imagine anti-patriarchal forces coming to revere the unfertilized egg even more than conservatives now revere the embryo. Indeed, they might find that virgin birth has a number of advantages over cloning and sexual reproduction, quite apart from the fact that the parthenogenic fetus, untainted by male seed, can scarcely be regarded as a trespasser in the mother's body. For one thing, it generates only females, since the self-fertilized egg is bound to have only two X chromosomes. It's twice as efficient as sex, since two parthogenic virgins can have twice as many babies as one woman and one man. Unlike cloning, parthenogenesis does not produce exact genetic replicas of the parent, since each egg (like each sperm) has a unique genetic makeup. Also unlike cloning, it is available only to women, since the man's yolkless sperm cells are barren. A lesbian feminist's dream?

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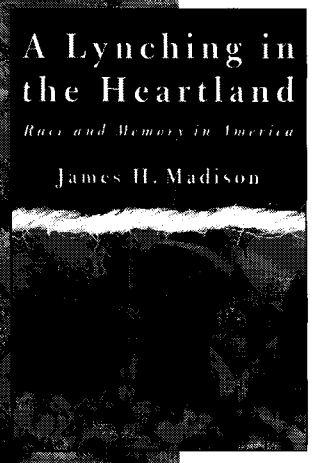

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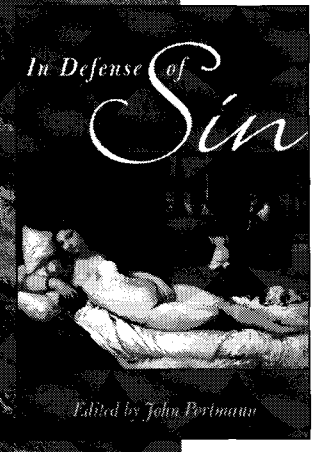

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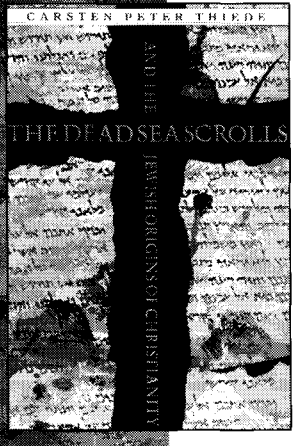

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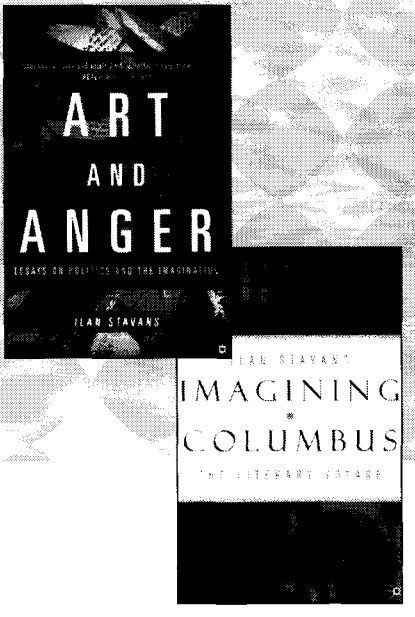

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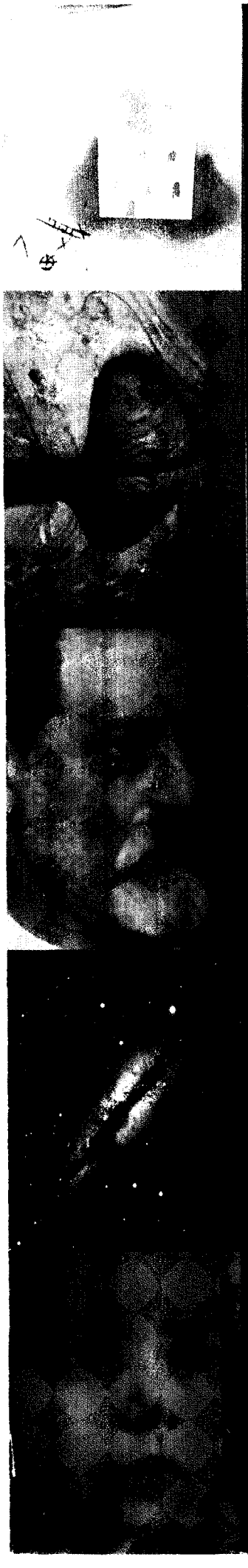

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